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With the *Da Gamas in 1497*

A STORY OF ADVENTURE

*Told from the South African
point of view*

By

Edward
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PREFACE.

The writer of this book, EDWARD FORBES ROBINSON, M.A., Cantab., spent the last hours of his life in its completion. Had he lived to revise it, the story would have gone out to the world shorn of certain irregularities of style and aim.

Originally planned as a school text-book, the author's own scholarship and love of research led him ever deeper into his subject. It was the writer's intention to recast the first portion of his book and make the whole a work of reference for teachers and senior students, while at the same time presenting a story of adventure and discovery, which would appeal to all lovers of Historical Romance.

L. A. R.

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NOTES FOR PREFACE.

THIS LITTLE BOOK can make no claim to exhaustive treatment, but some excursions into obscure by-ways of history have been attempted, and all of us who aim at more than mere scribbling should hold in mind the weighty opinion of Donald Moodie: "Probably no colony contains a more uninterrupted series of authentic materials for the true history of its colonisation."

For the first period with which we deal the Teacher may consult the "Sources of Information" at the end of Dr. Theal's *Portuguese in South Africa* and Mendelssohn's Bibliography. But two of the authorities dealing with Da Gama's story must here be described in some detail. From Correa (translated by Hon. H. E. J. Stanley Hakluyt Society) we quote cautiously....but when we tire of figures dressed for the heroic part yet having no more capability of movement than a row of waxworks, when it is a question of an atmosphere that may be breathed, when in fact it comes to showing "the very age and body of the time his form and feature"—then Correa's gossip record is perfectly indispensable. I have even ventured (as a sequel to Chap. VI.) to give extracts from his sailor's yarn regarding the supposed mutiny.

It behoves us next to speak of the Portuguese National Poem, whose author was probably born in 1524, the year of da Gama's death. Says Hallam "As the mirror of a heart so full of love, courage, and generosity as that of Camoens, the *Lusiad* can never fail to please us." That the gleanings from this treasure house are invaluable for the purpose of this volume may be judged by two more quotations. A Portuguese writer (see "The Epic of Africa" by

John Purves, "The State" Nov. 1909) declares that "In it we have what no other masterpiece has yet attained—the entire demonstration of the life of a nation. "The real value" of the poem, says Sir Geo. Birdwood, is its evidence of the higher moral and spiritual aims of the Portuguese in their acquisition of the Indies; the history of which, but for the light thrown on it by Camoens would only preserve the memory, better lost, of deeds of indescribable tyranny, senselessness and shame."

This contradiction of motives will in the mind of the true Teacher connect itself with the Nation's subsequent Catastrophes and may lead us as colonists to the following reflection: It were well for the Future of the Portuguese, for their success as humanizers of savage races, for their share in the modern system of Universal Commerce which this enterprise is doing so much to promote, if at the present juncture means could be found for combining with the loyalty of the *da Gamas*, the cautious counsels of an enlightened merchant class, backed by the enthusiasm of citizens invited to participate freely in the responsibilities of a Traffic that else will benefit too exclusively the Court grandees and the militant sections of the nations. No apology is needed for presenting to the mind a living picture of such flesh and blood heroes as the *da Gamas* and their comrades.....

An attempt is also made to describe the life on board as it affected the ordinary Portuguese sailors.

We owe much to the man whose home is on the sea. Did he not bring our fathers or our fathers' fathers to these shores, and sometimes become himself, whether by free choice or by fearful accident a hardy and independent settler?

Now the professed historians wrote for a nation dazzled by glimpses of glory and empire in the East, but with our simple minded diarist it was wholly otherwise; he had no desire to live in King's houses or to seek for vice-regal favours. If he sought to please other than himself it was his

Captain—who knowing that earthly joys were numbered would care only that his country-men should have a truthful record—one that should do justice to his brother's leadership—of this desire then we shall have fuller indications—one that should incline his country-men to kindly dealings with the natives and even with the Easterns in so far as they could be brought to understand western motives. For the rest he would require an unvarnished tale of manly endeavour—literary embellishments of any kind being not consistent with the 'stark' character of the *Da Gamas*. And the *Roteiro* which is found upon every fresh examination of its details to be a consistent record of daily happenings has leisure for observations. In his favourite comparison we have already remarked the lover of home. On the south west coast he seemed inclined to linger—finding the temperate air and surroundings not unsuitable as a place of call or retreat for the less ambitious colonists—there he noted with pleasure the plants, the animals, the song birds that reminded him of Portugal. Here in the east he has a kindly eye for the *domesticated*, and in the simple folk that approach so innocently this brave heart warms—he sees in them nature's gentlemen (and his view is clear). He is like the traveller who mounting the hill pauses for breath and turns deliberately round to see the way that he has come. But now we must so to speak look over the hill top, hasten and catch up the other travellers and with them strain to see the distant view. The story will henceforth take on the character of adventurers in eastern lands—and if we feel that this story is as it were a twice told tale that the scene is laid amid a civilisation already even at that date in a manner familiar to European enquirer—then our interest will henceforth be centered in the incidents as tried to bring in to the relief the characters of the Portuguese adventurers.

"Comparisons are odiferous" exclaims the irrefutable Mrs. Malaprop and it is to be hoped that no strict dis-

principle of hers will set invidious eyes upon this Reader in which the Comparative Method is freely employed. Yet it is my deliberate suggestion that the constructive imagination of the South African School boy should be developed by encouraging him to play the part of Plutarch *e.g.* over the careers of Diaz, Da Gama and the Great Genoese. The hints given at the end of chapters will help to make this possible, if the school library contains one popular Life of Columbus, such as Washington Irving's (own) Abridged Narrative (5/0) or Helps' in "Everyman's Library" (1/3) which has some 60 pages devoted to South Africa. Older scholars will delight in the social and artistic setting of this the story in "Vasco da Gama and his Successors," by Mr. K. G. Jayne.

Several Explorers who enjoyed the hospitality of the later Dutch Governors were scientists of repute from various European centres, trained observers whose volumes illustrate the essential unity of the Geography (Physical and Political) of the sub-continent. Few had the literary knack of Sparrman (Swedish botanist) who virtually compels the reader to go forth with him into the veld when searching for "Simples." But passages from several of these writers (*e.g.* a selection from their snake and lion stories) deserve reproduction as inciting to the study of Natural History. In Barrow & Lichenstein and some less known authors of the Transition period we find men capable of social descriptions of a high order and providing us (all unintentionally) with suitable material on which to base our calculations of the improved standards of Modern Decency and Modern Comfort.

CHAPTER I.

*Arms and the heroes, who from Lisbon's shore
Through seas where sail was never spread before.*

* * * * *

*With prowess more than human forc'd their way
To the fair Kingdom of the rising day.*

Lus., Mickle Bk. I. pp. 1, 2.

WHAT IS BETTER than having been born in the "Good Old Days?" Why, of course, to have come into the world about the beginning of this century and to be "fancy free" to visit any famous scene and any famous person of any former age that may arouse our curiosity!

As young South Africans we naturally wish to begin when the Portuguese first came to our coasts. Let us then join in the bustle of preparation that precedes the setting sail of the famous and fortunate Vasco da Gama on his expedition of 1497, undertaken in order to make good the golden hopes stirred in the breasts of his countrymen by Diaz and (if possible) to outstrip the recent Spanish achievements under Columbus.

How can we picture the outward appearance of the Leader or "Captain Major" of that Expedition? The portrait chosen for our Frontispiece does not, in truth, bring us near to the man himself. It represents him after he has attained to eminence; seemingly the artist is more anxious to celebrate his triumphs as Viceroy and "Admiral of the Eastern Seas" than to depict the dogged determination that rendered those proud titles possible.

Its effect on the mind is too like that of an elaborate fashion plate. Perhaps if the charm of colour were restored our verdict would be more favourable.

With loving emphasis upon details the faithful historian has thus described a similar production: "He is painted with a black cap, cloak and breeches edged with velvet, all slashed, through which appears the crimson lining, the doublet of crimson satin, and over it his armour inlaid with gold." (Faria y Sousa.)

Now contrast the quaint vigour of a crude but contemporary medallion, observe the prominent frontal bone and powerful nose, the Neptune-like growth of curly hair and the far shooting glance of this Old Man of the Seas, whose sailors dread his "proneness to anger and even to rashness," whilst his captains report him "a very choleric man" who "at times with angry words made them be silent."

There is however about to go aboard one who fully reveres the leader and is fondly loved in return. Of Paulo da Gama, Vasco's elder brother, historians seem unable to speak too highly. Although he could be as resolute as any of his more robust companions, yet his was a gentle disposition: a character, says the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley, in marked contrast to that of "the other men of his age and nation whose ferocity was stimulated by the desire of gain."

The question will presently arise: On which vessel should we have the best prospect of obtaining a true insight into the purposes of this voyage? We should have rare fun on the *Berio* commanded by Captain Nicholas Coêlho, renowned for pains most indefatigable, he with his two assistants, "experienced both and bold in war," having brought together as volunteers

"a young crew of sturdy swains
whose budding valour itch for martial jarr."

Medallion.

Some of these sons of the soil might be as innocent of nautical terms as the raw hands in a later caravel of Alneida's who knew not how to distinguish "estibordo" (starboard) and "bombordo" (port)—so the Captain, growing humorous in his despair, tied a bundle of garlic over one side of the ship and a string of onions over the other, then bade the pilot give order to the steersman thus: "Onion your helm! Garlic your helm!" But Dame Experience is soon to take them all in hand; the shallow draught of Coêlho's vessel will enable her, in charge of the competent pilot, to act as pioneer when entering unknown ports and there are adventures enough in store for her long boat.

The Berrio is a caravel, one of the "rakish" lateen-rigged vessels carrying two or three stumpy masts; this type of which Portugal is said to have possessed the fastest specimens was employed by Diaz on his ever memorable voyage. Unless however we are prepared to rough it all round with Coêlho's "mettled lads" our lot will be happier on board one of the two larger ships, specially constructed for this voyage under the superintendence of Bartholomew Diaz.

If compared with the average ocean going craft of to-day, the fleet of Da Gama may well seem puny. But when told that the *St. Gabriel*, the *St. Raphael* and the *Berrio* were vessels of probably not more than 120, 100, and 50 tons, we should bear in mind (see Journal p. 160—4) that the Portuguese ton of the fifteenth century was something like twice the modern ton measurement. A description by Captain da Silva of the *St. Gabriel*, gives the following for her chief dimensions: length over all 84, breadth of beam 28, and depth 17 feet. Very different are the proportions for a modern sailing craft, where the length may exceed seven times the breadth of beam. Her outline would be to our eyes highly irregular. Two such tub-like vessels alongside with waterlines touching amidships, would be several yards apart at their

castles. The huge erections fore and aft, looking not unlike the two humps of a Bactrian camel seem to anticipate the unwieldy Spanish galleons of the "Invincible" Armada. Such castles are really citadels which afford protection and seclusion to a crew armed with bows, or with firearms, and making their last stand against boarders. The *St. Gabriel's* defensive armament consists of twenty guns, all of them to be found there, viz.: six bombards in the forecastle, a like number of them, short and stout pieces of ordnance in the upper battery; in the lower battery, eight breech loaders. Oh, plucky gunners who prime these treacherous monsters made of wrought iron staves, and held together by hoops mounted on forked props!

After getting a first hand impression of the *St. Gabriel*, we shall do well to make friends with Pero d'Alenquer, her trusty pilot who, mindful of having rounded the Cape with Bartholomew Diaz, ten years before, and of later experience in the Congo, is ready to explain how these new ships, flat bottomed and clumsy, neither fast sailors nor good at tacking to windward, are yet by their draught well suited for venturing in shallow and uncharted waters. By attributing their uncommon safety and comfort to that former chief, Pero naturally gives pleasure to Diogo Diaz, brother of Bartholomew, whom we find in his company as the *St. Gabriel's* clerk or purser. Diogo's varied functions include those of book-keeper, purser, cargo-master and possibly rat-catcher-in-chief, though it is the ship-master's particular duty to provide cats, "when he can find them for sale, or as a gift, or get them on board in any manner, so as to check the ravages of rats and mice in the hold and store-room." (see Index, Consulate of the Sea). In any case his personal responsibilities are heavy, for is he not liable to be branded in the forehead, to loose his right hand, and to forfeit all his property, if he make a wrong entry in the ship's books? Diogo Diaz

Henrico General da Coelho

THE SUPPOSED ARMADA OF VASCO DA GAMA.

From a painting made by order of Jorge Cabral (1549-50) and copied in M.S. of 1558.

That Cabral's painting fairly represented the type of ship in which the da Gamas sailed was allowed by the late Dr. Ravenstein; yet he did not regard these ships as actual portraits, the legend below the supposed ship of Nicolau Coelho (which they broke up) being inapplicable. But possibly (in the original painting) this third ship was intended to represent the store ship which met this fate; she was twice the 'Berrio's' size and in her rigging probably resembled the sister ships.

needs no such deterrent; at a crisis he will prove himself worthy of his distinguished family name.

Mr. K. G. Jayne, in "Vasco da Gama and his successors," points out (page 27) that Diaz left Lisbon and rounded the Cape in 1497, a year later than the traditional date.

Confide to Diogo, that you have more than a passing interest in the objects of the expedition and, with pleasant smile, he shows you a compartment of the vessel which may at first suggest some raree show. What a strange assortment is here! Moorish caps and scarlet hoods, silken jackets, striped cotton and pantaloons. Are these, with the glass and coralbeads, little rounded bells, tin rings and bracelets, intended to adorn a regiment of dusky warriors? Whether as presents or as articles of merchandise, such baubles are better fitted for coastal traffic among the naked savages whom Bartholomew Diaz had encountered, than for an attempt to enter into relations with Arab traders or Indian potentates.

Diogo would have laughed at the later fabrications of Gaspar Correa, the famous story-teller, who as a young man was living in the East when Vasco da Gama came thither for the third time. Now Correa, like the native painter whom he employed, (see Lendas p 596) could not divest his mind of vice-regal pomp, even when dealing with his hero's early life. So for these simple preparations he substitutes "cloths of gold and silver, and wool of all kinds and colours, and many jewels of gold, necklaces, chains and bracelets, and ewers of silver and silver gilt, yataghans, swords, daggers, smooth and engraved and adorned with gold and silver workmanship; spears and shields.....fit for presentation to the kings and rulers of the countries where they might put into port." He says further that the King ordered a supply of "much gold and silver coined in the money of all Christendom, and of the Moors."

In reality there is little actual coinage available as a medium of exchange; for which serious defect, neither Diogo Diaz, nor his brother, can be held responsible, and the intricacies of Trade are perhaps beyond the ken of Vasco da Gama.

The conjunction of his own with the two Commanders' names would make poor Diogo laugh on the other side of his face. Curious is the contrast between the man of fiery, disdainful humours and the much enduring Bartholomew Diaz, who finally yielding to mutinous crews, had caused their officers to sign a document taking upon themselves responsibility for failure: when returning, "since God had not granted him success in his principal design, he wept bitterly, as if leaving a son in exile for ever." Yet he is not without consolation. Having at one time, like Paulo da Gama, been named as a probable leader of the new expedition, he works with the same self-forgetful zeal, and gladly accompanying it, as far as he may, will leave his brother Diogo to continue the quest.

To return to Pero D'Alenquer: his professional pride is not unmoved by the high renown of the new leader, who served his late king at sea with credit. Vasco being now away from the ship, perhaps on a visit to the palace, we shall accept the pilot's offer to peep into his unoccupied cabin, on the Quarter Deck of the Forecastle, which is adorned by a set of the latest scientific instruments. These have been provided by Abraham Zacut, professor of mathematics and astronomer royal; we are told in a whisper, that Vasco has enjoyed the advantage of being trained by that wise Hebrew. The instruments include 'Genoese needles,' *i.e.* mariner's compasses, hour glasses, a kind of logline, sounding leads, a wooden astrolabe, a three hands' breadth in diameter, formed of three pieces like a triangle, smaller metal ones of Zacut's invention, and probably quadrants, which by aid of his nautical almanac would enable the navigator to calculate the latitudes.

After leaving the Captain-Major's apartment, we bid farewell for a time to the pilot, as well as to his friend, Diogo Diaz, and row across to the ship, which, though somewhat smaller than the *St. Gabriel*, is best described as sharing with her, "the well known make of Gama's navy....

"The bending bowsprit, and the mast so tall,
The sides black, frowning as a castle wall,
The high tower'd stern, the lowly nodding prow,
And the broad standard slowly waving o'er
The moony anchor's fangs."

As we approach, her figure head attracts attention. It is an image in oak, now somewhat worn of St. Raphael, whom Milton describes as "the affable Archangel.... heavenly meek," sent to forewarn Adam of danger, and the "sociable Spirit" who deigned to travel with Tobias. No better symbol could have been chosen to express the influence of the gentle elder brother who journeys with the younger, like a guardian angel.

And for ourselves, if worthy the companionship of a true Knight Errant, so that while seeking Fortune we regard Gain more lightly than Honour, then room may be found for us as Volunteers on board the *St. Raphael*, commanded by none other than Paulo. The elder Gama is far from being alone among the Pioneers of his age, in possessing a mind aglow with patriotism, chivalry and mystic piety. But we must be prepared to find in his train men of a different type; adventurers "in haste to be rich," whose imaginations dwell continually upon the fabled wonder, that is reported as the object of our search--an earthly Paradise, where the mountains melt into rivers of gold.

CHAPTER II.

I do not imagine I shall persuade the world that our intent was only to be preachers of the Faith: but, on the other hand, the world must not fancy that our intent was merely to be traders.

Faria v. Sousa (*Portugal's Historian*) 1590-1649.

THERE IS NO NEED to draw from wells of imagination for an account of the preparation that precedes the setting sail from Lisbon of the Da Gamas on their expedition of 1497, undertaken in order to make good the golden hopes stirred in the breasts of his countrymen by Diaz, and if possible to outstrip the recent Spanish achievements under Columbus.

Barros (1496-1570) was gentleman of the bedchamber to Manoel and as Court Historian took for model the Roman annalist Livy and with him is least mindful of Truth when seeking occasion to glorify his Country. However he is in the main confirmed by Goes (keeper of the Archives) and by the painstaking Castanheda.

Correa claims to have made use of a diary and a memorandum book not now extant (see Index) as well as of first hand evidence. But his narrative of the Expedition (whilst displaying a first hand knowledge of India) is tinged with a superstition and coloured by romance; though not liable to so strict a censorship as Barros and Goes, he descants at great length on the interest taken by Court and King.

Manoel *the Fortunate*, though unscrupulous and self-centred, yet has a kinship with true greatness which draws to his service men of patriotic genius. His naval heroes will presently secure for him the command of Eastern seas with the beginnings of an Asiatic Empire, and to the reputed honour of discovering South America will add the certain profits of a Colony in Brazil. By a wise expenditure of newly acquired treasure he will become patron of an intensely national type of art, his name will be perpetuated in the Manoeline style of Architecture and his palaces will glitter with gold and silver plate wrought by Portuguese artificers from Indian materials.

As if anxious to remove this halo of reflected glory, painter and chronicler have handed down to us an uncanny account of his person. "An inscrutable almost sullen face, lit by greenish eyes: dark brown hair, tall meagre frame with every sinew toughened by exercise; ape-like arms so long that when he stood upright and let them hang his fingers extended below his knees": so writes Mr. K. G. Jayne, most candid of biographers. But his majesty's arms were seldom allowed to hang. An iron strength of mind and body helped to secure the homage of contemporaries for this lover of sport, man of affairs and master of statecraft. His interests appear to have been varied as those of an overworked monarch of the present day; the gesticulating portrait of the youthful Prince would even bear comparison with the speaking likenesses of which a school boy wrote "The Presidents of America are great talkers. Whenever you see a picture of them they have got their mouths wide open."

In the first year of his reign Manoel called one of several general councils in which the majority were of opinion that India ought not to be discovered, lest the forces of the little kingdom should be dissipated and troubles should increase with sovereigns already jealous

of Portugal's newly acquired lands and commercial development. But our ambitious one, consults, (as Coelho drily remarks,) after the manner of potentates, solely with those of his own way of thinking, and lends a willing ear to any who will urge him in the name of duty along a path chosen primarily by an instinct for grandeur. As "universal heir to every thing connected with this navigation" (G) he proceeds with preparations of his immediate predecessor, and at the last council, "though the king had several times made known to him (Vasco da Gama) his purpose with regard to this voyage, he thought fit to use a special solemnity."

On this occasion Barros puts into the mouth of Manoel studied phrases which our Portuguese critic compares with harangues concocted by Livy for his old world heroes and contrasts with "anæmic" discourses of the Crown in our modern parliaments. After a lengthy prologue wherein the "notable persons assembled" are assured that the chief motive for enlarging the bounds of his patrimony is disinterested, viz.: to be in a position to reward individually their loyal service, the king asks naïvely: "May we not hope from proceeding with this discovery to win the oriental riches so celebrated by ancient authors, part of which acquired by commerce has made such great powers as Venice, Genoa, Florence, and other great commonwealths of Italy? Having considered all these things of which we have experience, and also that it would be ingratitude to God to refuse what he so favourably offers, an insult to those princes of praiseworthy memory from whom I have inherited the prosecution of this discovery, and an offence against yourselves who have been employed in it, to neglect it for a long time, I ordered four ships to be prepared which, as you know, are now ready at Lisbon to proceed on this voyage of good hope, and remembering how Vasco da Gama here present, in all matters of my service entrusted and recommended to him, has given a good account of himself, I have chosen him to

undertake this duty as a loyal subject and valiant gentleman, worthy of this honourable enterprise, which I hope Our Lord will permit him to complete, that he may render to him and to me such service that his reward may remain a memorial thereof, and that of those who are to assist him in the labour of this voyage, for in this confidence I have chosen them as his assistants from the experience I have of them all, that they may obey him in all things relating to my service, and I recommend them to you Vasco da Gama, and you to them and peace and concord to you all."

At the close of this oration Vasco, with all the Notables, kissed the king's hand in token of gratitude and "when silence was restored in the assembly" he knelt before the king as before the Grand Master (in succession to Prince Henry the Navigator) of the *Order of the Chivalry of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, instituted "for the defence of the Faith, the discomfiture of the Moors, and the extension of the Portuguese monarchy." A silken banner, having in its midst the red cross of the Knights, was now extended between the arms of the king's secretary, and the chief captain pronounced these words: "I, Vasco da Gama, now bound by the command of you the most high and mighty king my master to go and discover the seas and lands of Eastern India, make oath by this sign of the cross on which I lay my hands, that for the service of God and Your Highness I will display it unfurled, and never furled, before the eyes of the Moors and heathens and all people wheresoever I go, and in all perils of water, fire and sword, I will ever guard and defend it to the death."

This act of homage completed, the banner was delivered to him together with a paper of instructions for his voyage; letters accrediting him to Eastern princes including "Prester John of India," and the reports which Manoel's predecessor had acquired, Barros in substantial agreement with De Goes, declares that Vasco, "having

received these things, the king dismissed him and he went to Lisbon with the other captains."

This setting the seal of approval may well have seemed enough to His Majesty, without advertising the Grand Adventure by a public appearance at Lisbon. Dr. Ravenstein points out that the king would at this time of year be loth to exchange the beautiful hills for the stifling heat of the capital.

On the other hand Correa describes with enthusiasm a Dismissal Service held one Sunday in Lisbon Cathedral. We are told that mass was said pontifically by Bishop Calçadilha of Viseu, a well known geographer who also discoursed in praise of the voyage, the Queen, the principal Lords of the realm, and gentlemen of the Court being present. The king came forth from behind a curtain to speak, the captains on their knees protesting loyally: "Our lives shall be the matters of least moment that we shall adventure." This ceremony was followed by further kissing of the hands of the king and queen, after which came a procession to the palace; the captains went before the king, their banner being carried by an ensign.

Perchance Correa is transferring to his canvas details from a later setting out and it is worth noting how far this account tallies with what Barros relates of Cabral, whose dismissal took place in the month adopted by Correa for Vasco's departure, a month which later experience dictated as suitable for commencing the Indian voyage. At the mass celebrated on Sunday, March 8th, 1500, in (Belem Chapel) Dom Diogo Ortiz, Bishop of Capta and afterwards of Vissen, preaches "On the motives of this undertaking." King Manoel who had been curtained with Cabral delivers to him (but with his own hand) the banner of the Cross of the Knights of Christ with solemn words. He accompanies his captains and their unfurled banner to the shore where they kiss the king's hand while boats ply to and from ships, making the sea gay with liveries and parti-coloured flags.

Correa heightens the effect by making the royal orator pursue the members of the Expedition upon the waters, where addressing them all with blessings and good wishes, he took leave of them, his boat going on its oars till they disappeared. "Our arch-romancer alleges that the above incident is shown in the painting of this city of Lisbon." Whilst this work of art has not come down to us, another relating to the same subject remained (so far as is known) a mere project. Manoel himself gave instructions that the first of a series of Tapestries should represent "The admiral and his brother and Nicolas Coelho, all three as they are taking leave of me and receiving their instructions at the time of the first discovery." Directions for the second of these tapestries relate to the final parting from Belem, *i.e.* after the official farewell.

In the following picture of the first embarkation Correa's canvas finds no room for the good people of Lisbon, to whom, nevertheless, this affair must have appealed as a brave city show: "Vasco da Gama on a horse with all the gentlemen of the Court, went down to the wharf on the bank, and embarked in their boats, and the *Standard went in that of Paulo da Gama*. Then taking their leave of the gentlemen, they went to the ships, and on their arrival they fired all their artillery, and the ships were dressed out gaily with standards and flags and many ornaments and the royal standard was at once placed *at the top of the mast of Paulo da Gama*, for so Vasco commanded and discharging all their artillery, they loosened the sails and went beating to windward on the river at Lisbon."

In the words italicised we have an allusion to a series of brotherly contests whereby the da Gamas strive to outdo one another in feats of unselfishness. It should be mentioned that originally their father, Estevao da Gama on this voyage was intended as leader of the Expedition. After his death, Vasco on being appointed, asked that

the king be pleased to employ also his brother Paulo da Gama on this voyage, by which means, with such a companion and so faithful (*com tal e tão fiel companheiro*) he hoped to accomplish it without the usual disputes and suspicions (*Goes*), another version makes Paulo refuse the chief command, whilst begging to serve under Vasco who, by the way, was thirty years of age and an experienced seaman. Paulo having at this time (according to the incorrigible *Correa*) got into a scrape, Vasco not only interceded for his pardon but when the king said: "You shall carry the Standard for you shall be captain-major of the other," replied that Paulo being the older deserved the honour. Accordingly when the moment of departure comes the Royal Standard is placed at Paulo's mast head: later it will be hauled down by his express order, to be again hoisted there at the "great supplication" of Vasco who gave his brother good reasons why it was fitting that he should carry it."

Da Gama's companions are now looking back, many of them for the last time, on Lisbon—romantically named by tradition after Ulysses the classic wanderer. The city is often compared with Venice whose place it will shortly take as distributing centre for products of the East. It excels the Queen of the Adriatic in a situation suggestive of maritime supremacy, being placed where the river broadens landwards to a lake seven miles across, affording one of the safest anchorages and seeming to be "a natural point of repose on the ocean for ships setting out for Europe to all parts of the world." From on board

"Whilst Tago's yellow stream the harbour laves,
And slowly mingles with the ocean waves."

there is ample leisure to observe the soft luxuriant beauty of the city's outer fringes where amid grey olive-yards, green orange-groves and greener vine-yards, convents, churches, and palaces will presently occupy the slopes of a low range of hills. On the right Belem four

miles distant and gateway to the open sea, will be counted as a suburb. Thither the ships are tacking up the wind, to wait three days in its deep anchorage for a favourable breeze. The miniature navy can here ride gallantly with pennons spread in warlike pride and the ships' soldiers are free to strut upon the white sand "clothed variously in colour and in kind."

Towards the close of the second day the captains foregather, viz., the two brothers, Gonçala Nunes,—Vasco's retainer in charge of the store ship—the equally faithful Coelho, haply also Bartholomew Diaz, as commander of an accompanying caravel. Let us repair with them to the *house of Our Lady of Bethlehem*

Where foaming on the shore the tide appears
 A sacred fane its hoary arches rears:
 Dim o'er the sea the ev'ning shades descend,
 And, at the holy shrine, devout, we bend:
 There, while the tapers o'er the altar blaze,
 Our prayers, and earnest vows to Heav'n we raise,
 " Safe through the deep, where every yawning wave
 Still to the sailor's eye displays his grave;
 Thro' howling Tempests and thro' gulfs untried.
 O mighty God: be thou our watchful guide."
 While kneeling thus, before the sacred shrine,
 In holy faith's most solemn rite we join;
 Our peace with Heav'n the bread of peace confirms,
 And meek contrition ev'ry bosom warms:
 Sudden the lights extinguish'd, all around
 Dread silence reigns, and midnight-gloom profound;
 A sacred horror pants on every breath
 And each firm breast devotes itself to death,
 An offered sacrifice sworn to obey
 My nod and follow where I lead the way." *

*Here Mickle IV. P. 127, (the merits and demerits of whose *Lusiad* are often independent of Camoens!) has marred the effect by Vasco's unseemly boast. In the lines quoted below

A pledge of fidelity to "the lofty Gama" was doubtless demanded from his companions, but their thoughts would now have wider range. Perchance through long hours, when the splash on the low bank mingles with prayer for direction and Paulo's eyes turn seaward, some lone star with its track of light across the waters will image to his mind,

The glorious Henry—kindling at his name
Behold my sailor's eyes all sparkle flame
To deeds unknown before, the sailor fired,
The conscious sailor left the sight of shore,
And dar'd new oceans, never ploughed before.
The various wealth of every distant land
He bade his fleet explore, his fleets command.
The ocean's great discoverer he shines.

Peculiarly appropriate to this vigil would be the memory of a student whom, in his wave-bound, rocky retreat, "the sun oft found in the same place where it had left him the day before, he having watched through the whole arc of the night without any rest."

Or again, would be a joy to contemplate their share in it the fulfilment of the Founders *Dream*: "As the Infante was lying one night in bed, a Revelation was made to him that he would render great service to God by discovering the said Ethiopias....in which region he would find that multitude of new people, and black men;" to him it "was further told that a large part of these people would be saved by the Sacrament of Holy Baptism and that in those lands as much gold and such rich mercandise would be found as would suffice to sup-

(dealing with a later incident and in happier vein) Mickle enlarges the praises of the Discoverer put by Camoens (Lus. VIII. 37) into the mouth of Paulo, who entitles him and his knightly brother *progenies generosa* noble offspring of the valiant John. Similarly Vasco (in V.) speaks of the new isles and broad lands. "que o *generosa Henrique* descobrio."

port well and in abundance, the king and people of these kingdoms of Portugal, and enable war to be carried on against the infidel enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith" (Pacheco).

Next morning Da Gama's "Daring mates, breathing fixed resolves march in procession to the ships. A Litany is intoned by the Priests and friars from Lisbon, whilst a bare-headed crowd of citizens, carrying lighted torches, murmur responses. Mass is said; our adventurers are confessed and absolved by church rites.

When all is ready for departure there sweeps over the multitude one of those storms of nervous reaction well-known to promoters of national enterprise, but which in its uncontrolled expression is characteristic of this warm blooded South-European race. Their poet has seized upon this moment of heart searching and dejection to insist that even the heroism of the early explorers was cankered by a lust for dominion and by "Commercialism" *i.e.* the spirit which sacrifices developments of mind and soul to love of gain and luxury. Through the lips of a man of venerable look (*d'aspecto venerando*) who stood upon the peopled shore, he thus apostrophises "That poor vanity which men call fame: Spirit false (*O! fradulento gosto*) that taketh Honour's Name," and those beguiled thereby a Fate "terrible but just" doth await:

"Brief life for them is peril, storm and rage,
This world a hell and death their heritage."

The old Man's deep voice penetrated even to the ships, when as sails are unfurling, by long custom and to avert ill-omen, sailors rend the heavens with shouting. *Boa Viagem* (Good Voyage!) But on shore the bitterness of parting is unrelieved and a well nigh universal weeping makes it seem that funeral rites are being performed.

"Old men creep as if they read the ground,
 And little children, tottering as they go,
 In imitation of the mourners round
 Lament for sorrow deeper than they know:
 The neighbouring mountains murmur'd back the
sound
 As if to pity mov'd for human woe,
 Uncounted as the grains of golden sand.
 The tears of thousands fell on Belem's strand."
Lus. IV. 95.

Notes for Chapter II.

Note I—Prester John.

This descendant of the Magi first becomes known to European legend in the middle of the 12th century, by a letter addressed (about 1165) to the Emperor Manuel Comnenus at Constantinople and purporting to be from the Priest. The King himself, states, in no measured terms, his claims to consideration.

Herein was shown to all whom it may concern that this Potentate ruled over the three Indies and countless hordes of men. His sceptre was of emerald, his robe woven from the incombustible material that the salamanders fashion in their fiery dwellings. Set in front of his throne was a magic mirror in which he saw all that was happening in all his dominions. Contained in his territories were dragons and monsters galore, fish that yielded purple, giant ants that drag out gold, pebbles that give light and make invisible, the river whose sand was precious gems, the Fountain of Youth—in short, whatever delights could reasonably be expected in a well-stocked Earthly Paradise.

His forces consisted of 10,000 knights and 100,000 foot. Attendant upon him were 7 Kings, 12 Archbishops, 20 Bishops, 60 Dukes, and a Count for each day in the year.

Before his thirteen armies as many crosses of gold and jewels were borne,—for had not he, the most powerful of monarchs, the most orthodox of Christians, undertaken some day to rescue the Holy Places from the Saracens?

Note II. An effective instrument in the hands of “the originator of continuous modern discovery” was the order of Christ, refounded upon that of the Knights Templar, early in the 14th century. Successive favours conferred upon it are suggestive of the progress and perhaps of the decline of religious fervour. Pope Eugenius 14th granted absolution to all repentant knights of Christ who should perish in the service of the Church, King Alfonso V. promised them spiritual jurisdiction in all lands which they might discover. Alexander VI. (Borgia) “somewhat superfluously” says Mr. Jayne “absolved them from their vows of chastity and poverty.” On the other hand Pacheco in relating that Manoel was the first king of Portugal to seek from the same Holy Father, the boon of marriage for all subsequently admitted knights commander of the Orders and Chivalry of *Our Lord Jesus Christ and Saint Bento* (Benedict), declares “the service which this most serene Prince rendered to God, by applying for this, will deserve praise to the end of time.”

CHAPTER III.

*From farthest west,
To reach the golden East. we try*

*And many a shy have seen, and many a shore,
Where but, sea monsters cut the waves before.*
Lus. I. Mickle p. 15.

“IN THE NAME of God, Amen.

IN THE YEAR 1497 King Dom Manuel, the first of that name in Portugal, despatched four vessels to make discoveries and go in search of spices. Vasco da Gama was the captain major of these vessels. Paulo da Gama, his brother, commanded one of them, and Nicolao Coelho another.

We left Rostello (Belem) on Saturday, July the 8th, 1497. On our journey which may God our Lord permit us to accomplish in his service. Amen!”

In these opening sentences by the author of the *Roteiro*, who was on board our St. Raphael, the motives of the early explorers seem, like waves of an incoming tide, to blend and reinforce one another: Religion, Discovery, Commerce, and once again Religion!

Their brevity, and (apart from the bare facts about the Setting Forth) their vagueness, with the absence of certain phrases, suggest a project too important to be lightly made known.

Here is no talk of converting the “Tawny Moor” of pushing the Negro Slave Trade, the profits of which have

often helped to reconcile niggardly critics to the ever increasing expense of these African Expeditions. The conquest of fresh realms is not so much as hinted at, a silence due perhaps to fear of complications should the vessels be overhauled by jealous Spaniard, or hostile Arab, or agent of some unknown Prince whose friendship it may be needful to cultivate. At first the omission of gold, precious stones and ivory as objects to be sought seems as surprising as the prominence given to Spices. But the "Yellow Will o' the Wisp" has too often led Portuguese explorers astray and it suffices that Diaz is being sent as chief captain to the productive station on the Gold Coast. Moreover, to men of the later Middle Ages, with their limited diet, highly spiced food brought all the charms of variety. For the control of the Traffic of the Spice Merchants in the markets of Western Europe Venice had fought successfully with other Republics: it is certainly not beyond the prescience of Manoel that Portugal must gain enormously by cutting off that monopoly, and, although the stores of this expedition will reveal a ludicrous shortage of articles suitable for exchange among civilised peoples, we conclude that our diarist has in mind the ultimate goal of its promoters. Hence in the conjunction "make discoveries and go in search of spices" one discerns a half disguised intent to neglect the already well known "Grains of Paradise" with other aromatic seeds of the Guinea Coast and to reach India, the reputed source of the world's supply.

Our Roteiro, leaving to amateur pens the week's run of 650 nautical miles, proceeds in business-like style: "On the following Saturday (July 15) we sighted the Canaries and that night pass to the lee of Lancerote and the night following [* * *] at break of day we make the Terra Alta, where we fished for about two hours, and then this night as it was growing dark, we were off the Rio do'Ouro."

The voyagers give a wide berth to that forbidding negative Cape Nam Nao or Nun, if only to avert its omen:

Quemfor ao Cabo Nao

Ou vira ou noa. He who goes to cape Nun

It's a chance if he'll return).

Nor would they be tempted to linger

"Where midst the billows of the ocean smiles

A flow'ry sister-train, the happy isles."

For most of the *Canaries* (whose classic name of *Insulae Fortunatae* is thus rendered by Camoëns) had passed after long dispute from Portuguese to Spanish possessions. So in the night they slipped quietly by the easternmost of the group with its many extinct volcanoes and its central height rising to about 2,000 feet. But after the black needle-shaped rocks of Lancerote had been left behind, speed would be conditioned by increasing need for caution. Possibly "during the following night"—a storm (of which the details have been lost) damaged the rigging of Paulo's ship. Then would there be no question of putting in for repairs, the instinct of the pilots leading them to stand well away, lest the irregular Drift should in the darkness carry them dangerously near this Desert Coast. From Wady Draa away down to the River Senegal we may say that two seas meet; for here is a boundary of the Sahara or sea of sand and in places the heavy surf beating continuously on a low lying shore mingles its fine particles in a haze that makes it almost impossible to distinguish the dividing line.

Another 120 miles, past country dismally uninviting, when not dangerous, brings them to the beginning of the diarist's "Terra Alta," in lat. 24 N,—an almost straight line of low cliffs, 35 miles long. In its shallow anchorage the attempt is made to replenish their larder—with results not hard to guess, for this particular part is seldom

visited by fish—owing to the bottom generally consisting of broken shells. An easy run of about 30 miles brings them to a spot more favourable to sport viz.: Rio d'Ouro, *i.e.* the misnamed River of Gold, a narrow gulf or inlet where not only fish but winged and other game are to be seen in large numbers.

Well known to our voyagers would be the tale about two seventeen year old lads, named Hector and Diego, who, some sixty years earlier had accompanied Affonso Gonsalves Baldayo, cupbearer to Prince Henry, on the first Portuguese visit to Rio d'Ouro. The leader sent them off on horseback to discover whether there were any inhabitants. The companions wore no armour but simply took their lances and swords. Being in high spirits at the chance of adventure they exceeded what we should nowadays call "Scout Instructions" by riding along the inlet for more than half its length. At last they came upon a group of nineteen persons armed with assegais, and knowing that Gonsalves would be glad to see a prisoner, rode boldly up. "The men although so many, had not the courage to meet them in the open field, but for safety collected near a heap of stones, and there withstood the onset of the youths. "Though one of the two was injured in the foot, they succeeded in wounding several of their antagonists. The contests lasting until evening, it was only "towards morning" that they regained their ship. The injured Portuguese youth has been glorified for "losing the first blood that was sacrificed to the new system of commerce;" but the natural effect of the escapade was to keep the inhabitants at a distance, and this expedition had to be content with shipping home the skins of sea-wolves (*i.e.* large seals) found in abundance near the mouth of the inlet. Curiously enough it was a namesake of the above, Antam Gonsalves, master of the robes to the same Prince, who going in 1441, to apparently the same inlet, in search of seals, and an-

xious to secure "some of the language of the country" brought back "Tawny Moors" (of mixed Libyan and Arab descent) including a chief and two boys. It is said that their presence in Rome moved the then Pope to grant the Portuguese all countries conquered from Cape Blanco to the Indies on condition of spreading the Faith. However the chief assured Prince Henry that black skins would prove more docile slaves and more willing converts! So next year's expedition, at a spot "4 leagues up the Rio d'Ouro" received, in exchange for the two boys, ten negroes of both sexes. That ransom included a buffalo target, "a great number of ostrich eggs, three dishes of which rarity were one day served at the Prince's table perfectly fresh and good" and a small quantity of gold dust. But here we have the insidious beginnings of the modern trade in African Negroes and, in the words of the faithful chronicler, this gold of Gonsalves "awakened as always covetousness."

We come back to our story and glance over the shoulder of the Diarist for his account of a mishap off Rio d'Oro:—"And at night it grew so murky that Paulo da Gama lost touch with the rest of the fleet on one side and with the chief captain on the other. And when day broke we had sight neither of him nor of the other ships, and we made sail for the islands of Cape Verde, as we had been instructed that he who got lost should follow this route. On the following Sunday (July 23rd) at break of day we had sight of the Ilha do Sal (N.E. island of this group) and then after an hour had sight of three ships which we sought and found to be the victualler and Nicollao Coelho and Bartolameu Diaz who went in our company as far as the mine; they too had lost the chief captain. And having joined company we pursue our route and the wind fails us and we are becalmed (or, go quietly) until Wednesday morning. At ten o'clock in the day we had sight of the chief

captain about five leagues ahead of us; somewhat later to our great delight we got speech of him, whereon we many times fired off bombards and sound trumpets and all with much pleasure on account of having met.

The next day Thursday (July 27th) we reach the island of Santiago where we anchored by the shore (na praya) of Santa Maria with much pleasure and diversion, and there we took in meats and water and wood, also repaired the ships' yards, for it was necessary."

Possibly the meats included beef; in Pacheco's time goat skins and cow-hides were among yearly exports from the island, nor would a ship's cook disdain the great varieties of fish and turtles "large as a shield." Most tempting would it be to explore during our week's stay the largest (30 miles by 12) of the archipelago, to climb its conical mountain and trace ravines leading to swampy lowlands, perhaps not included in the colonisation of this "wild and uninhabited" island as ordered by Prince Henry, yet capable of producing sugar-cane or cotton. But the dry season is nearly ended, unfavourable winds are shortly due—and work more serious than a picnic keeps us to Porto Praia (within which lies Santa Maria islet) at the extreme south of Sao Thiago.

A muster roll at this anchorage would enable us to realise that of about 170 composing the expedition nearly all were serviceable men. The S. Gabriel's company of three-score and ten will include, besides officers with whom we are already acquainted, the mate, boatswain, journalist, storekeeper (dispenseiro), officer of justice, barber-surgeon, a second pilot, two interpreters, two boys (pagens), chief gunner, bombardiers and trumpeters, artificers (e.g. armourer and cook) and the prior of a Lisbon monastery, serving as Chaplain of the Fleet. Of ten "servants" one at least is a negro interpreter; Correa tells us that "the King commanded slaves to be brought

who knew all the languages which might be fallen in with," also that before leaving Vasco asked for a few prisoners, to be employed on dangerous errands or left in "desolate" countries, where they would be of great use, if found again! The adventurers of João Machado, supposed to be one of the ten or twelve convicts with this expedition, afford a striking example of Correa's disregard for accuracy when in search of the marvellous. Barros tells us that Cabral left him at Melinde with instructions to enquire about Prester John. This fits in with what a Portuguese State Paper reveals, viz., that he found his way from the east African coast to India and deserted the service of a native prince to help the Portuguese at a crisis in the defence of Goa where he was afterwards thanadar (farmer-general); he was killed in 1517 in a 'senseless' expedition by the captain of that city. Machado was a man of education and of good family who, disgraced in a love affair, was banished to Cabral's fleet for a technical offence (*Anchivy Portuguezio Oriental* fasc. 5, No. I—quoted by Whiteway). As elsewhere Correa seems to be confusing the details of two Expeditions. He lands Machado at Mozambique and makes out that he was one of two condemned for an assassination at Lisbon who had their sentences commuted, it being understood that they were to be placed on land where the danger was greatest:

"Reprieved from death, and in Armada sent
To be adventured, at the chieftain's time
Where risk of nobler life were wealth misspent."

Deported criminals sometimes behaved very differently. Mr. Whiteway tells how Pedro Alvarey, sent with Cabral as a ship's carpenter, turned Mohammedan and, under the name of Abdulla, led an attack upon his own countrymen.

The English likewise enlisted desperate characters for service in countries occupied by savages. Thus in 1615 our East India Company deprived Newgate of 17 victims; three lesser offenders volunteered to go—None of these chose to be set down at Table Bay and three others went thither the next year. (See Theal's Portuguese in South Africa pp. 225, 226). This proceeding was regarded as 'very charitable....a means to bring them to repentance:' further it was expected to foster trade, promote discovery and impress the native mind. Their fate is for the most unknown, but some made their way back to England, only to be executed for fresh offences—not so was the Cape of Good Hope to be colonised!

The industrious behaviour of the St. Gabriel's 30 seamen proper in helping to effect "the much needed repairs to our yards" may convince us that Vasco da Gama is a leader of no common foresight. It was not enough for him that the ships had been built of plain seasoned wood, well fashioned with iron, equipped by "one of the magnificent men of that time" and furnished with a double supply of sails, spars and ropes. Presaging that at the end of two years not more than half the members of the Expedition might be alive to re-enter home waters, he insisted that his men should, as it were, duplicate themselves. Vasco "spoke to the sailors who were told off for the voyage, and strongly recommended them, until the time of their departure, to endeavour to learn to be carpenters, rope-makers, caulkers, blacksmiths, and plank makers; and for this purpose he gave them an increase of two cruzados a month beyond the sailors' pay which they had which was of five cruzados (about 50 s) a month so that all rejoiced in learning, so as to draw more pay. And Vasco da Gama bought for them all the tools which befitted their crafts."

Thus would Correa show that Vasco, whose earliest home was in a tiny Atlantic haven, has particular sym-

pathy with the ordinary sailor folk. He makes the humblest a participator in the gains and hopes of this Expedition. Later on the proud commander is described as "preferring a low man who had honour with his right arm to a gentleman Jew."

This favourable impression will be strengthened in some respects if, again resorting to Diogo Diaz as guide, we take a peep at the men's quarters which however are not free from over crowding. We pass beneath the gang boards which run along the top sides from castle to castle of the *St. Gabriel*. Here we are told that each sailor is provided with a locker to hold such goods as he may obtain by barter from the natives. Notice that none of the crew whom we see carry fire-arms. When a fight comes they will have the old-fashioned but not ineffective cross-bows. Some of their officers will be clad in steel armour, whilst the men must be content with leathern jerkins and breast-plates. Perhaps this state of things made it easier to preserve the peace at a time when regulations to prevent brawling on board ship were of the quaintest. In a book of this period called *The Consulate of the Sea* "the mariner was exhorted to bear with any abuse the master might please to shower upon him, but if words passed to blows, he was to run away into the bows and firmly take his stand beside the anchor chain." Should an infuriated master, armed with a belaying pin or other death dealing weapon, chase him to this stronghold, "the mariner was to slip discreetly round to the farther side of the chain. Here he was sacrosanct. Should he be still pursued, he was to call his messmates to witness that the master had broken the rules by circumventing the chain. Then at last he was to defend himself."

But from what we have already learnt of the discipline to which a man in Diogo's position was subject, we shall expect to hear from him of more severe punishments as being inflicted by a disciplinarian like Vasco da Gama in

cases where the ordinary sailor is caught napping: "Curiously enough, a seaman who fell asleep on his watch was only put on a diet of bread and water, unless the offence was committed in hostile waters. In that case he must also be stripped naked, flogged by his messmates, and ducked thrice in the sea; if he were an officer however, he would only "lose all his food except his bread," and have a pail of water flung over him "from the head downwards." "Water appears to have been unpopular, for no common sailor was permitted to undress himself "except he be in a port for the winter."

Re Text of *Roteiro*—I have ventured to insert asterisks within brackets on page 31 and to suggest the occurrence at this time of a storm which led to the repairs at Sao Thiago (p. 35). The text as it stands would imply a run of more than 300 miles in 30 hours or less, an impossible feat for the da Gamas' clumsy Armada, even with the current, half a knot per hour, in their favour. Whilst Castanheda attributes the need for these repairs to rough weather he has worked in his storm elsewhere, viz., as contributing with the diarist's night haze (see p. 34) to the dispersal of the fleet off Rio d'Ouro. This is not the only case in which his addition amounts, seemingly, to a mere gloss upon the text of the *Roteiro*, known to him apparently in its mutilated form. By the way, it has been suggested that of this anonymous work, Castanheda himself a most diligent scribe, wrote our one extant M.S. (the same being confessedly no autograph,) but a copy made "not later than the beginning of the XVIth century" (K). Probably the original came early into the hands of an editor zealous on behalf of Authority to exclude whatever might seem to reflect upon the careful conduct of the Expedition. A landsman with constitutional dread of stiffening breezes; cp. also hiatus in description of East Coast Storm, ch. VII. or perchance influenced by the chief captain's dislike for the niceties of the Art of Navigation, he cuts away several of its early pages and pieces together

the remainder carelessly. This precursor of Bowdler ruthlessly excises all detail regarding the unprecedented voyage from San Thiago to St. Helena Bay, and gives himself away by a hopeless confusion of dates, following upon the one important incident mentioned therein (but without cause assigned) viz., the breaking of the S. Gabriel's Mainyard, see Chap. IV. p. 44.

CHAPTER IV.

*Beneath another heaven and stars unknown,
 Unknown to heroes and to sages old,
 With southward prows our pathless course we hold:
 While thus our keels still onward strayed
 Now tossed by tempests, now by calms delayed.*

*Five times the changeful empress of the night
 Had filled her shining horns with silver light
 When sudden, from the maintop's airy round,
 "Land, land," is echoed.—*

Lus. V. Mickle. pp. 138, 141.

THE BOLDEST OF SAILORS could not have guessed what was in store for this little fleet when on August 3rd they left the cliffy heights of S. Thiago, *sailing eastward*. This note of direction from our diary is confirmed by the quartette who here act as a sort of Greek chorus, echoing or supplementing its unknown scribe. Goes (with Osorio in concert): "Thence (from S. Thiago) following his instructions he commenced an easterly track in search of the Cape of Good Hope." The diarist had previously remarked that "Bartolameu Diz (sic) went in our company as far as the Mine," *El Mina* of to-day, the Gold Coast Station which as a young man he had helped to found. Barros says the king's purpose in sending Diaz was to reward his faithful services in the preparation of the ships. He says further: "Diaz accompanied them as far as the place where he steered for Mina, having put Vasco da Gama on his right course."

Castanheda whose History has likewise two mentions of the parting, is minded to place it somewhat earlier: "Diaz went in his (Vasco's) company in a caravel to the Cape Verde islands, and thence he was to go to Mina." The other passage originally made Diaz return from S. Thiago to Portugal, but it has been corrected; (see Ro, 2nd edition. Kopke, p. 136) first taking leave of Bartholomew Diaz who steered his course for Mina, Vasco da Gama stood towards the Cape of Good Hope *direct through the sea.*"

This coupling of the veteran's name with statements regarding our voyagers' proposed route is significant. True, his pilotship must have been purely honorary with D'Alenquer aboard the *S. Gabriel*. But it was only natural for Manoel to desire, at the hands of such a messenger, tidings that his fleet had commenced to sail direct for "that great and famous Cape concealed for so many centuries, which, when it was seen, made known not only itself but also another new world of countries."

Whether impelled by genius or by fate, the commander is now about to pursue a course very different from the land-hugging exploits of his predecessors. Instead of creeping along the coast of Guinea and feeling his way from promontory to promontory, past the fever stricken river mouths of the Tropics, da Gama,

Braved the horrors of the southern main

Where storms and darkness hold their endless reign,

traversing between Sao Thiago and the spot where he first set foot in South Africa, full 5,000 nautical miles.

The passage of this "Unknown Sea of Darkness" according to date furnished by the Roteiro occupied 96 days. The exploit was now only without precedent in the annals of South African exploration: so far as concerns the time spent at sea and distance covered, the da

Gamas' fleet excels Columbus' first journey, though it falls far short of Magelhan's later record. Yet in regard to spiritual qualities of leadership and magnitude of results the voyage which makes the New World known to the old must be accounted even more memorable than that which gives the East to the West.

In our quotation at the beginning of the Chapter a speech is put into the mouth of Vasco da Gama that by no means understates his own and his companions' power of endurance, the whole time spent between Lisbon and the first South African landfall being, in plain prose, exactly one week over four lunar months. But the poet, without naming any place of call after S. Thiago, gives the idea that by following what came to be spoken of as "the usual course" our expedition kept in touch with a long line of discoveries and conquests:

Always with sharp prow towards the southern zone
 The mighty gulf of Guinea still we brave,
 Leaving the rugged Serra called Leone.
 And Cape, to which the name of "Palms" we gave;
 The Rio Grande, where on shore well known,
 And which is ours, there beats the sounding wave,
 We left, and the illustrious isle allied
 By name with one who touched the Saviour's side.
 And there lies Congo's kingdom vast and strong....

Lus., V. 12, 13, *Aubertin*.

That course was probably followed by the poet himself who, fifty six years later, went forth as voluntary exile to the East Indies—wooing Fortune and winning Fame.

If, so to speak, the author of *The Lusiads* is to be of our spiritual company we must not demand from him the accuracy of a professed geographer. When authentic details are scanty he draws from his own experience or will lift his eyes to a wider horizon and, by wave of prophetic wand, summon a vast assemblage of his most

distinguished countrymen—each and all to lay their trophies at the feet of *matchless da Gama*. Yet the National Poet has done lasting injustice to the National Hero by a vagueness to which may be traced the modern assumption that the greater part of his journey da Gama was following close upon the caravels of Dias, of whom, as of a rival hero Camoens seems jealous—refusing to utter his name. Of that ‘other Armada’ the poet’s information was by no means precise. He reports the Stormy Cape’s discovery as taking place on the outward journey and appears to sanction the error which reduces by twenty five legoas ‘their voyages utmost bound’ (c. v. 64).

Whilst the da Gamas’ exact route will continue to afford matter for discussion, our fragmentary Roteiro gives us more than one valuable clue:

“As we were going one day, the wind being south the chief captain’s yard broke, and it was on the 18th of August, and it would be 200 legoas (680 miles) from the island of Santiaguco (S. Thiago,) and we lay to under the foresail and the mainsail two days and a night.”

Perchance this second accident to the rigging was also the result of a sudden storm such as Camoens mentions among the baffling dangers of the sea and couples with *lightnings that set on fire the air*. To Pacheco the record of several voyages were available when he wrote: “While crossing the high seas from Cape de Verde onwards great care and vigilance should be exercised, day and night for heavy thunderstorms are frequent, accompanied by wonderfully strong winds and it is necessary that the moment a flash of lightning or a black bank of cloud is seen, the sails be taken in at once.” The Tornado is of common occurrence, on the west coast of Northern Africa, at the beginning and end of the rainy season. At its oncoming dark yellow clouds are piled in the form of an

arch and vivid lightnings are seen in the North. Violent squalls, having the force of a hurricane, move up in the face of the ordinary wind. During the three hours or so that the storm lasts, changes of wind are so rapid that a sail may be split and torn to rags.

Whilst her carpenters are doing their best to make good the damage, let us notice particularly the *St. Gabriel's* rigging. Her mainmast rises at 110 feet above deck and flies the royal standard. From the crow's nest nearly 70 feet above deck floats the Captain's scarlet flag. A similar crow's nest is attached to the foremast. In the case of an engagement—says Dr. Ravenstein, "These points of vantage will be occupied by fighting men, who hurl thence javelins, grenades and powder-pots upon the enemy." The sails on the two chief masts, as well as the sail on the bowsprit, are square, but that on the mizzen mast is lateen, projecting over the poop; on each is painted the Cross of the *Order of Christ*.

To assure ourselves that there is no danger of supplies falling short, we should now pay a visit to the Provision ship, said to be somewhat like the *S' Gabriel* in her rigging.

Here we are told that together with what has been stored in the lower decks of the other vessels, there is enough and to spare for three years! The necessities of the common sailer have been allowed for on a fairly generous scale. His daily rations comprise $1\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of biscuit, 1 pound of beef or $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of pork, $2\frac{1}{2}$ pints of water, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ of wine, $\frac{1}{2}$ a gill of vinegar, and half that quantity of oil; on fast days $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of rice, of codfish or cheese, will be substituted for the meat. Flour is carried for bread to be made on board and there are in addition sardines, plums, almonds, onions, garlic, mustard, sugar and honey.

This fare is on a somewhat more generous scale than was usual for the ordinary Spanish mariner who, however, expected meat and wine on Saturdays, Tuesdays

and Thursdays, porridge being served during the rest of the week and each evening bread and wine or fruit were accompanied by some relish such as cheese, onion or sardines—with double rations on festival days.

This dietary which would have surprised a Dutch clerk or storekeeper of later days—Take first Dutch Cape Voyage—compares in some respects favourably with that provided in a Dutch East Indiaman of a later period. The Dutchman's average allowance being made for the season would work at something more than half a lb. less per diem. But the Portuguese sailor's diet was more restricted on Fast Days (whereas the Dutch had his dried supply of salted Fish.) Neither Portuguese or Dutchman was likely to go great lengths towards Intemperance on their respective allowances of wine, viz.: one and a quarter pints daily and a wine glass full every third day—the Dutch sailor was encouraged by a mixture of beer and bread and syrup for breakfast and in winter was given a weird concoction of horseradish, garlic, wormwood and brandy—it being officially queried whether the men should not receive their mutsje (32nd part of a pint) in two portions *i.e.* a quarter in the morning and the rest at noon to prevent all possible dissipation!

Down in the Hold we see at first only huge coils of rope, but beneath these are hidden the indispensable water barrels. Aft is the powder magazine, where arms and ammunition including iron and stone balls are kept; a forward compartment contains such requisites as spare sails and anchors.

Calms, when alternating with fitful gusts had lent themselves to purposes of repair but many haply last too long for individual comfort. Night and day the eye will wander listlessly over that little world comprised in the four vessels of the Armada, whilst each to other seems idle as a painted ship upon a painted ocean.

Now smooth as glass the shining waters lie,
 No cloud slow moving sails the azure sky.
 Nor gentlest swell distends the ready sail
 Fix'd as in ice the slumbering prows remain.
 And silence wide extends her solemn reign.

Such metaphor's are put by Mickle (independently of his original and descriptive of a later calm) into the mouth of Vasco as he paced the quarter Deck to relieve a mind fretted by inactivity!

Perplexity would be increased by the unwonted appearance of the heavens at night. The Polar Star gleams no longer and with it more than one familiar group has ceased to check their course. According to classic lore the farmer Callisto a rival of the goddess Juno having been changed into the *Great Bear* constellation was not allowed to cool herself by dipping in the sea. Thereupon Tradition held that these same stars never sink below the watery horizon and it is accounted a chief wonder of the voyage "That we saw the Bears spite of Juno, bathe in Neptune's waters."

Camoens enters into the feelings of these northern sailors, the majority of whom are beholding with delight the steady glow of our most distinctive constellation.

"And now we had discerned all brilliant
 A group quite new in the new hemisphere."

Camoens of course without mentioning Dias or his colleague Infante declares that now for the first time its existence was definitely recorded, possibly having in mind Dante's distorted reference. Three years later Amery's Vespucci searching for a southern Polar Star noted its four most brilliant stars in shape like an almond, and having but little motion. He hopes in his next voyage to be able to mark these out.

Freshening breezes from the South East will convince the pilots, though not the commander, that it is well nigh useless to continue steering direct for the Cape. Every such effort will be thwarted by the persistence of the Trade Winds. Of these our later historians seem to have acquired serviceable knowledge. Castanheda writes:

“During August, September and October, they met with many storms of wind, rain and fog, owing to which they were in great peril and many times saw death staring them in the face.”

Goes evidently attributes the safe emergence of the fleet not to any wisdom on the part of its commander, but to Divine guidance. Vasco was baffled by storm and adverse weather “until God was pleased to show him land.”

Judging by advice to Cabral and by his own course on a second voyage, Vasco compromised in favour of a Mid Ocean route. (See note I).

That the da Gama's strayed to about 28 west, *i.e.* within 500 miles of Brazil, is suggested by the chart of the editors of our diary (1st printed edition 1838). Dr. Ravenstein's similarly hypothetical track allows for an eastward direction towards Mina and is content with taking the explorer 24 degrees westward. How much latter day guess work might have been saved by a glance at one of the charts which this expedition was ordered to bring home, tradition affords us no clue. Faria y Sousa, a XVIIth century writer has been credited with carrying the da Gammas further west than any previous discoverers. His actual words serve but to tantalise: ‘Having passed the seas known to Portuguese sailors, they discovered others.’

At length the diarist resumes:

“And on the 22nd of the said (probably October) month, when going south and one point to the west,

we came across many birds fashioned like heron and when night came they flew very briskly to the S.S.E. as birds that were making for land: and on this same day we saw a whale, and this was quite 800 leagues (*i.e.* nearly 2,700n. miles in a straight line from S. Thiago) out to sea."

Five years earlier like omens had cheered Columbus towards the end of his first voyage. "The admiral remembering how often birds had guided the Portuguese to the islands in their possession—on one of these he had himself resided and so kept in touch with African exploration—made note of a jay, of a ring-tail, as well as of a pelican exhausted in flight and killed with a stone by a youth on board the *Nina*."

What is now the position of the Portuguese vessels—these heron-like birds whence and whither do they fly? Dr. Ravenstein surmises that the Armada (October 22nd) reached lat. 30 s. long 15 w. i. e. about 400 miles north west of Tristan da Cunha and that consequently the birds must be making for these remote islands. If so the speed of the vessels for the next thirteen days will average 135 miles a day, *i.e.* considerably more than that attained during any other part of the voyage, or again the distance of the group from the mainland does not prevent its weed encumbered shores from being haunted by a variety of strong-winged visitors. Much in evidence is that deep diver the Southern Gannet well known as the *Malagas*, on our south west coast resembling a wild goose, white of body with brown tipped wings and tail. The wandering albatross ('Cape Sheep') to judge from the specimen in the S.A. Museum here measured some 10 feet across the wings from tip to tip, quite a decent expanse even for that giant species! But neither these nor any of the lesser breeds that nightly flock from all parts of the horizon to roost on the island heights are liable to be taken for herons!

More probably the Armada after tracing with circuitous course "that wide and lonesome main" is coming into touch with our continent, not far from the Tropic of Capricorn. If, say, the latitude of Walfish Bay has been reached the 'many birds' may be slate-coloured herons, abundant along this coast (and at Orange River mouth), or a company of their red-hued cousins, flamingos, which in distant flight, with long necks and legs outstretched, have been compared to dragon-flies!

Indeed it might be Paulo himself making these and other such double entries from his ecclesiastical calendar: The tale of shoreless days being numbered, our scribe has recorded his next two dates with pious care. On Friday, October 27th, the eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, mention is made of many whales, sea-wolves, *i.e.* seals and 'quoquas' (? *phocar*, seals of another species or probably porpoises); the first named mammals would not be found in any great number at a great distance from land. Other signs of nearing this coast are the prevalence of mist, change of colour in the water from black to green, the presence of land birds, readily distinguishable from sea-fowl by their slower flight the more frequent fluttering of their wings, and a proneness to rest on floating seaweed. Columbus was delighted by a crayfish, the green limb of a tree, the branch of a briar rose and "the beautiful golden floating mass of the gulf-weed covered with berries and showing a little way under the clear water, bright green leaves." Similarly our scribe, as if reminiscent of that record:

"On Wednesday, 1st of November, Day of All Saints, we noted many signs of land, including gulf-weed, which grows along the coast." The Sargasso or gulf-weed, does not get down to this coast. Our commonest marine plant is the *mina digitalis*, a smaller variety of the growth to be found off Tristan d'Acunha and afterwards named Trombas (a kind of Trumpet) by the Portuguese—its dry, curled, stem is in use to-day among fishing boats as

a fog-horn; the moss-green, ribbon-like frond, resembles a palm and attains to a length of twelve or fourteen feet; the Hottentots call it sea-bamboo. Easily deprived of its hold on the rocks it may drift about for months in batches. At a distance of a 100 miles off the Orange River mouth large quantities of seaweed have been observed.

The current, which here, according to *the African Pilot*, has been found setting to the N.E.; combined with the seaman's unfavourable winds might well account for unsatisfactory progress.

It was now time for Vasco da Gama to steer for the shore. The diary records: "On Saturday, the fourth of the same month, two hours before break of day, we found a depth of 110 fathoms at the most, and at nine o'clock we had sight of land." This discovery relieved tension and led to a second demonstration on the part of Paulo da Gama: "We then drew near to each other, we saluted the chief captain by firing our bombards, we're all clad in festal attire." The keen-eyed mariner 'first to shout, 'Terra! Terra!' from the crow's nest doubtless met at Paulo's hands with more generous treatment, than the 'common sailor' who sighting land at two o'clock in the morning, from the *Pinta's* deck was humbugged out of a royal pension by the great admiral.

Camoens prolongs the jubilation:

Forth on the deck o'erjoyed the whole crew leap,
And their fixed gaze on the East horizon keep,
The mountains that we saw at first appeared
In the far view like clouds and nothing more;
The heavy anchors presently are cleared,
The sails are struck just as we come to shore.

Lusiads (V., 24, 25).

More cautious was the actual procedure and not so immediately pleasing was the prospect at close of this

the longest recorded journey without sight of land. That the ships had not kept company across unnumbered leagues would have proved more disastrous now than at any earlier stage of their journey, for here was no rallying place, the only definite aim being to make for some long bay or natural haven where Dias had previously sheltered. When however in the course of the day they tack so as to come close to land Pero d'Alenquer naturally fails to identify it. In his outward journey where during five days his course had been rendered tortuous by contrary winds the commander gave to a creek in (or about) 29°S. the name of Angra das Voltas (Tusus or Tacks). Thence they were driven with sails half-mast amidst furious seas far away south, hardly expecting to see land again; nor did they see it until the *Stormy Cape* was rounded. It had been proposed by Diaz's officers to examine carefully, on their homeward journey, the lands passed by: but when coming from the Cape they were favoured with a following wind. Nor is there much to detain a fleet either going or returning along the three hundred miles between Orange and Berg Rivers, where currents baffle and approach is barred by reef or sand. Probably about midway, at or near Hondeklip Bay, the da Gamas first sighted South Africa, catching a far off glimpse of green-sloped Kamiesberg. Without attempting tacks against the prevailing wind our pilot will stand off to sea. Having got, say, 100 miles out they would brace their yards again and make S.E., coming on Tuesday, full upon a spacious Bay, or Bight of which the shores are low, though when approached from the north, past Cape Discada, they appear cliffy, rising at a steep slope from the water extending in a flat-topped ridge of sandhills 700 feet high—the whole distance from that *longed-for* point to Cape S. Martin (lat. 32, 43, s., long, 17, 15, e.) on the S.W., being thirty-one miles.

“The chief captain sent Pero d’Alenquer in the boat to sound for good anchorage. On which he found it very good and clean, and to afford shelter against all winds except those from the N.W. It extends East and West and we named it Santa Helena.” Our diarist’s substantial accuracy is attended by such passages as the following from the African Pilot.

“In summer months when southerly winds prevail, the water is entirely smooth in any part of the southern side of the bay, but as it is open from N.E. by N.W. it becomes unsafe in the winter months.” Doubtless the *S. Gabriel’s* pilot or D’Alenquer himself supplied such particulars as, when supplemented by sailing charts, might be expected to prove of use to countrymen following in their wake. Amongst these will come Pacheco, of geographical and other renown—sailing for India in 1500 and working at his survey of the African Coasts fr. 1505 to 1520. His description is by no means so favourable, admitting the bay to be ‘tolerably large’ he complains once and again that it and the neighbouring shore are foul with reefs. Conceivably he is prevented from anchoring in the right spot owing to a slip by which our diarist magnifies the size of the southern end of the Bay, making the river Samtiagua (S. Jago) four legoas’ to the S.5. of the creek or cove near which they anchored.

Nicholas Coelho went likewise in a boat to seek for fresh water and the Portuguese in naming his discovery seem to have been mindful of the excellent water and swampy but navigable stream at their last haven. The land-locked mouth of the Berg River is inconspicuous and only forty yards wide—a stone’s throw across. Now-a-days its upper reaches, including the fertile vale of Drakenstein, provide some of the best Cape wines, whilst its waters are praised as “peculiarly wholesome and well adapted to shipping.” Coelho’s folk to get the freshest water, must take their rowing boat some way up with the

flood tide and remain until the last of the ebb when casks can be easily filled; they observed that this river comes from the *serhao* i.e. inland veld, but are probably less anxious to explore the winding course of the stream than to keep at a distance from the many hippos lurking in its mud and forests of reeds. The opportunity will be seized to mend the sails and take in wood. A sandy shore invites the crews to careen their vessels—this process involves shipping ballast and cargo, erection of rough scaffolding, scraping all growth from the ship's sides and recaulking seams.

For the rest our new arrivals are conscious chiefly of their freedom from confinement. Presently we shall see them in roystering spirits and cutting capers on the shore after the manner of youthful visitors to modern health resorts.

Note I. Course taken in the earliest voyages round the Cape. Bartholomew Dias started about the end of August 1486 (Dr. Ravenstein would alter this to 1487). He landed in 21°50' (Cape Cross) and at Angra Pequena, his first place of call beyond the Cape being Mossel Bay.

The *da Gamas* left the Tagus on July 8th, 1497, and restarted from the Cape Verdes on August 3rd. Thence their course was south-easterly, which took them within reach of the Guinea current, neither Vasco nor his advisers could be expected to know this nor yet that by steering westward there was an advantage to be gained by such as that set forth by the *Atlantic Ocean Pilot* in its directions for the month of August:—"Ships bound to the southward should pass to the eastward of the Cape Verde Islands where the N.E. Trade is stronger than to the Eastward of them." The *da Gamas'* first landfall

was on November 4th, in about $30^{\circ} 5'$. *Cabral* in 1500 was instructed by Vasco to sail southward from the Cape Verdes till the Cape latitude should be reached. Contrary winds and currents took him to Terra da Santa Cruz (Brazil). Near Tristan d'Acunha several of his vessels, including one commanded by Dias, foundered in a terrific storm.

Pacheco writing in 1505, though his work may have been revised by a later hand, applies a new test for such attempts as those of the da Gamas, viz., whether they are seasonable; 'any vessel which is at Cape Verde bound for India, should, *if the wind is favourable*, steer due south for 100 leagues, at the end of which, if it has really covered that distance it would be 19 degrees from the equinoctial circle, towards the Antarctic Pole, 'and in long. 23° W., he would thence have the pilot make for a point 40 leagues S.W. of the Cape in latitude 37. This mid ocean route differs somewhat from the modern sailing track, the *Atlantic Ocean Pilot* with its two warnings, 'not to make easting too rapidly' nor to court bad weather by steering too far south.

Joao da Nova, whose name is carved on a stone in the *S.A. Museum* set sail from Belem on March 5th, 1501. He attempted a direct passage discovering Ascension en route.—He anchored at Mossel Bay on the 7th of July.

On his record voyage Vasco was possibly attempting to regain his former track. "On March 5th (1502) from Cape Verde (that is from the main land) he sets his course south-west 100 leagues in the sea. He lost his way when still a little north of the Equator which he had crossed by the 11th of April. He was driven by contrary winds far out of his course during six whole weeks but rounded the Cape near the end of May—a remarkably quick passage."—*Ro.*

Estavo da Gama, his nephew, left Lisbon on April the 1st, and took the western route, passing the Cape Verdes on April the 15th, and Trinidad on May 18th,—Cape

rounded beginning of June—land first made July 11th, at Cape Prinais (Natal coast), 102 days, after departure from Lisbon. Albuquerque sailed for India in 1502. At Cape Verde he took counsel with his pilots whether to follow 'the usual route' along the coast of Africa or to make boldly for mid-ocean. The latter course was adopted. Apparently after 28 days Ascension was reached though later on he landed at Terra da Santa whence he stood across the Atlantic and made the Cape on July 6th.

These notes (in part condensed from Dr. Ravenstein,) afford additional proof that the Portuguese acquired knowledge of winds and currents even when tested by modern sailing directions.

CHAPTER V.

*So pleasant they appeared and tame,
 Fernao Veloso e'en made up his mind
 The customs of the land he'd like to learn
 And through the woods to go on their return.*

*Of whom with no more clear intelligence
 Of India we so longed for could we meet
 Than so I hoisted sail to wind again.*
 Lus. V. 30, 34. Aubertin.

THE PICTURE found in a collection of travels published by Pieter van der Aa in 1706 and derived from a French source is not exact in regard to topographical detail, for this illustration flourished in a different century and had perhaps never been within 6,000 miles of the scene!

Now look at the goodly sized cray fish in the old engraving! Though to-day the local fisherman is content with a catch that averages something under 14 inches, whilst a few individuals may run the length of two feet, including feelers. What a pity that our artist has not ventured to depict one of the numerous seals which, according to Goes, were "of the size of large horses." However his aim is to illustrate the story as told by Barros and full justice is done to the monster that, as we shall presently see, appeared to endanger the life of Paulo.

The man who now seems to be flying from eager pursuers was but a few minutes ago in a position to answer

our ethnological question of first rate importance, viz., was the habitation of the blacks' a collection of huts or were these friends of this *at home* in a rock shelter with opening protected by branches of trees? A coherent reply can hardly be expected from one whose mind is filled with horrors and we are fain to fall back upon the chit chat of our historiographers: An honourable person (*homim honrado*) says Goes, or Fernan Veloso, a man-at-arms had begged Vasco da Gama to let him go to see the native village for further information. This Vasco conceded, as it were at the entreaty of his brother, Paulo da Gama (*concedeo a rogode Paulo*).

Fernan Veloso having departed, Coelho remained on shore to look after his crews whilst they collected wood and gathered lobsters.

Paulo "not to be idle, and seeing many young whales passing between the ships in pursuit of the shoals of small fry, got two boats to go after them with fish-spears and harpoons, which pastime was near costing him his life." The sailors made fast the ropes attached to two harpoons to the bows of the boats and happening to strike a whale, it struggled so much that it was near upsetting the boat.

"And as it was already afternoon and all were about to betake themselves to their ships, they saw Fernan Veloso coming down the hill in a great hurry. Vasco da Gama, who had his eyes fixed upon his return, when he saw him in that haste, bade them hale the boat of Nicholas Coelho, who was coming off from the shore, and tell him to return to it to take him off. The sailors in the boat, because Fernan Veloso never omitted to talk of his prowess, when they saw him come down to the beach at a half trot, purposely delayed to take him in. That detention caused the negroes who were in ambush waiting for them to come out on shore, to suspect that Fernan Veloso had himself made them some sign not to

come out. And whilst he was trying to get into the boat two negroes ran up to him to detain him, for which boldness they came off with chaps bathed in blood (Veloso afterwards suggested that they wished to keep him "as a decoy"); at which the others hastened up, and the showers of stones and arrows* upon the boat was so great, that when Vasco da Gama arrived to pacify them, he got an arrow through his leg, and Gonzalo Alvares, master of the ship San Gabriel, and two sailors, each received one. Vasco da Gama, seeing that there was no means of peace with them, ordered his men to row back to the ships and despatched a few cross-bow men of ours to expend their stores upon them, so that they should not remain unchastised."

The liberal-minded Goes, constitutes himself spokesman for the Native: He declares that "*As the seal was uncooked and the customs of the land did not please him*, when the banquet was over Veloso began to make his way to the ships." But the diarist puts it differently, "They caught the seal and when they came to a barren place they roasted it, and gave some of it to Fernan Veloso, as also some of the roots which they eat. After this meal they expressed a wish that he should not accompany them any further, but return to the vessels."

Here we have a direct contradiction—the latter version being evidently a non-committal account fit for the ears of Authority, the former reflecting, what Veloso intended his ship-mates to believe. The braggart has deceived his betters! That hint concerning unpleasant customs of the land sets a grave historian upon guessing that Veloso guessed himself to be present at a cannibal feast! Another's fancy pictures how courage was cooled by raw flesh set before the warrior's eyes, he being offered the entrails as a choice delicacy. And whereas Veloso

* They began to throw assegais which they were carrying, so that the chief-captain was wounded and 3 or 4 men. [R.]

did not venture to describe what the natives took care never to let him see, viz., their place of encampment, he has been credited with a prevision of the typical Bushman's abode "in little holes scooped in the ground with branches bent over them and the skin of an animal over the branches."

Goes explains the misunderstanding with the Natives as the continued result of our hero's fit of nerves, (on account of the said Fernao Veloso the inhabitants of the country rose in arms), the sailors' humorous delay and last not least, the captain-major's unnecessary show of force.*

The Diarist concludes with a rather different moral: "And this happened on account of what we did with them, it appearing to us that they were men of small courage and that they would not have chanced to do such things but that we had gone unprovided with arms." Neither Goes nor the Diarist know anything of retaliatory measures. The desire for revenge is suggested by Castanheda: "Though they remained three days, the natives did not return and thus da Gama was unable to take vengeance upon them"—as if the gentle Paulo would have allowed any one else to suffer for his own error of judgment in recommending Veloso's suit. But Mickle again outstepping this is content with nothing less than a "poetical revenge" which trains the ship's guns upon native bodies:

Full on their front our flashing lightnings blaze,

Long tracks of gore their scatter'd flight betrayed.

Incidentally we have in a later entry of the diarists' confirmation of the da Gama's forbearance shown on this occasion. A clear conscience rather than any words (or

* The 1749 copy of De Goes *Chronica* (in S.A. Library) connects as causes and consequences this rising of the inhabitants with the speedy setting out of Da Gama—not so the edition followed by Dr. Theal whose translation is given above.

signs.) of the natives must have suggested that the surprisingly good reception of the Expedition at the next place of call was due to a report from their countrymen at St. Helena that there was "No harm in us, and that we even gave away things which were ours."

"This bold rash youth ambitious of the fame of brave adventure" did his commanders an ill service, as in the case of the boyish escapade of a former expedition (ch. iii. p. 33) by checking wholesome intercourse with the natives. However, it is certain that the batteries of chaff opened their broadsides full upon his person when he regained their ships:

To Fernan then a boon companion cried,
 While rang the decks with laughter's merry chime,
 "Ho friend Veloso, yonder mountain side
 Seems less laborious to descend than climb."
 "True" unabashed the adventurer replied,
 "But when yon black pack hither trooped 'twas time
 For your sake, as I thought, my pace to mend,
 Remembering you were here without your friend."
 Lus. v. 35.

Doubtless the foremost in this good natured banter is Diogo Dias. But to judge by his very different conduct on a somewhat similar occasion he realised that a valuable opportunity had been thrown away. Three years later as a member of Cabral's expedition he takes part in the discovery of Brazil, and being selected on account of the contagious merriment of his disposition, goes along with three of those most dismal personages the "degradadoes," to make friends of the natives. At a distance of exactly one league and a half from their ships the exploring party came to a collection of nine or ten houses where they entertain and are entertained for the night. They bring back a detailed account of

their hosts' manner of dyeing the forehead and shaving the eyelids, and concerning their log built, plank lined, straw-roofed cabins, observing at leisure such particulars as Veloso's rashness at St. Helena Bay made it impossible to obtain.

At daybreak on Thursday, November 16th, the da Gamas' fleet set sail. Neither the natives' hospitality nor the nature of the coast tempted them to linger. After abusing the foulness of the shore on either side of Cape St. Martin, cautious Pacheco says: "The best thing a man can do is to be on the look out." Our voyagers seemingly stood well out to sea avoiding thereby a witch's cauldron of troubles: delays from contrary currents, eddies that might have borne them close to shore in the fog of early morning, "league long rollers" caused by oceanic undulations *i.e.* swells that keep up a constant surf which again acts as an indraught rendering critical the position of a becalmed ship, danger heightened by the refraction that leads to miscalculations.

With Astrolabe, a novel instrument,
Which one of skill and learning did invent,
We disembarked upon a space of land
O'er which our people, curious, quickly spread
But I, with all the pilots in the sand,
To know exactly where we had been led,
Continue, the sun's altitude to scan,
And work and compass out a general plan.

As a result of the chief pilot's soundings the little fleet would find its way to the more protected end of this Expanse. Though "blindlers" *i.e.* hidden rocks, fringe a great part of the western side and deep water more frequently occurs a mile off shore, the best anchorage for small coasting vessels is abreast of the houses which cluster about Steenberg Cove. Present day fishermen in whose opinion this cove has changed for the worse will

tell you "the rocks are growing." Four miles north westward is Stumpneus Point. Thence it is but three miles of road past Shell Bay (another landing place) and across high ground to Cape St. Martins low, sandy point. In the opposite direction a walk of more than five English miles along a white line of shell strewn beach would bring us to Berg River mouth.

On Thursday, our diarist went ashore in Vasco's company. Barros, the royal historiographer, states as a reason for this landing that the chief and his pilots were desirous of calculating their whereabouts with a nicety unobtainable aboard small and unsteady vessels: "This was chiefly done by means of a wooden astrolabe three handbreadths in diameter, fixed on 3 pieces of wood after the fashion of a tripod, the better to verify the solar position and have the latitude of the place more certainly and distinctly; though they had with them other small brass ones." For a further description of the wooden astrolabe this learned author refers to "My Geographer," a book not now extant. And what of recorded results? Camoens reports da Gama with oracular vagueness.

We found that we had crossed since many a day
The mighty bound of Capricornus' sign,
And 'twixt him and the cold south circle lay
Which doth the world's most secret zone define.

The diarist has no word about scientific observations and is content with remarking that whereas they knew not how they might be abaft the Cape of Good Hope, Paulo d'Alenquer *thought* the distance about 30 leagoas—a very good guess. In Cantino's chart (1502) St. Helena Bay is named, its proportions are over estimated (see also chap. IV.) the shape of its lower part curiously resembles Saldanha Bay, it should be shewn rather more than a degree further south; and the Cape Point itself is similarly misplaced by about $1^{\circ} 52'$. For these last errors

a draughtsman and not da Gama's pilot was probably responsible; Canerio's chart published in the same year and produced from the same sources shows both latitudes more correctly. Dr. Ravenstein accepts the former document as a fair embodiment of the work done by this expedition, contrasts the more serious mistakes of Columbus and sums up their Spanish rivals and the Italians."

King Manoel had instructed his chief captain to acquaint himself with the manners of the natives wherever he should touch. The carrying out of that order is a topic light enough to make even a court historian chatty:—"Well, whilst Vasco da Gama was ready with the pilots to take the sun's altitude in this manner, they gave him notice that they had seen behind a hillock two Negroes walking and stooping in the manner of persons getting herbs, and this was the chief thing which he desired, to find someone to give him some information of the country. With much joy he gave orders to surround the negroes secretly and gently so as to take them. As they walked bent down and busy gathering honey at the foot of the shrubs with a burning stick in their hands, they did not perceive the people who were surrounding them until they ran upon them and caught one of them. As there was no interpreter who understood him, and he, frightened at that novelty, did not take readily to signs, which nature has made common to all men, Vasco da Gama ordered two ship boys to come, one of whom was a negro, to sit by him to eat and drink, whilst he went aside from them to let him get rid of his fear. This method proved very successful, for the ship boys induced him to eat, so that when Vasco da Gama returned he was already rid of his fears, and by signs pointed out some mountains, which might be 2 leagues off, giving to understand that his peoples' village was at the foot of them. Vasco da Gama as he could not send a better scout to call the others, giving him a few toys of bells

and crystal beads, and a cap, ordered him to be set at liberty, making signs to him to go and return with his companions to whom he would give as much. That the Negro did at once, and that afternoon brought 10 to 12 men, who came to seek what he had got, which was given to them also; but whatever articles of gold, silver and spices were shown to them they gave no heed to."

Barros has here given more detail than either Goes or the diarist and his account of the preoccupation which led to it is borne out by present day custom. Natives make a fire conveniently near a hollow ant-heap or ant-bear hole where bees have hived. By means of a smouldering stick, with green branches attached to make a smoke, the bees are forced out or further into the hole. For getting honey from rock-holes they use a supple stem fixing two pieces of green wood cross-wise to the end, so as to form a grapple. If one pole does not suffice they lash on another, so obtaining a length of 12 to 15 feet, and where the approach is not hopelessly crooked, they do not fail to fork out the honey-comb.

The captured one was 'undersized like Sancho Mexica'—possibly one of the lads told off to entertain him. He was much lionised. Placed beside the chief captain at table "he ate of all that we ate"; next morning the suit of coloured cloth in which he went ashore caused the envy of all beholders!

(A similar incident took place in the vicinity, viz., at Saldanha Bay, in 1652. Fredk. Verburgh is reporting to Riebeeck how his party went on shore well armed to meet some little-to-be trusted natives: "believed them to be beach-rangers, having neither cattle nor tusks, told us to look for cattle higher up among the Saldanhas (a Hottentot tribe of whom more hereafter) brought two of them on board, who having eaten and drunk and tobaccoed well, desired to be carried to the island at the mouth of the bay to kill seals to fill their empty stomachs."

Next day "the beach-rangers again approached—had nothing to sell save egg shell and tortoises." There was more than the usual difficulty in making these natives understand. After two days, "beach-rangers calling to us again—had a young rheeback and a small steenbuck to exchange—bought these for two spans of copper wire—paid two inches of tobacco for a sea-cow tooth)."

Whilst these long-shoremen are criticising their bells and tin rings we shall keep company with the serious-minded diarist. Basking in the sunshine of our early summer he praises this climate as healthy and productive of good herbage. Seemingly he meditates a report in which the bay will be safe for shipping and the country side suitable for a refreshment station to the Indies. His natural history observations suggest neither zeal for Science nor a delight in glimpses of the unknown. Contrariwise he is forever seeing in things new, some characteristic that reminds him of the old. The birds are the same as in Portugal including "cormerants (or searavens), gulls, turtle doves, crested larks, and many others."

The first of these he would easily recognise by its long but powerful neck and body, short legs, blackish, bluish or greenish feathers with metallic tinge. Birds of this genus, says le Vaillant are to be found on rocks near Cape Town in such numbers as to darken the skies when they take wing. Though limited to fish diet their greed has passed into a proverb!

His attention might next be attracted by a goodly sized black and white gull or by our southern black-backed *Larns dominicanus* supposed to resemble a friar, or by the white-headed Hottentot gull—our Museum specimen from Hoetjes Bay looks as like a dove as its thick beak and webbed feet will allow! Here would be found a turtledove, one of slate colour, with characteristic black ring round its neck, the diarist might listen

to a *Lachduifje* (with slight red ring) laughing like a human being; or as my friend Mr. F. Gee tells me, might distinguish black winged and black breasted *Namaqua duifje* known to the Hottentots as *Naboa*. Kolbe has remarked a close resemblance between the South African Turtledoves and the tame ones kept by bird fanciers in Holland; as for our linnets and other small birds in his opinion, they resemble those of the Homelands "as one drop of water resembles another."

Our newly arrived traveller is haply carried back to the streets of his beloved Lisbon where hang cages of Callandras outside every door; though the bird is heavily built its song is glorious and full of changes. Or does he recall a lark of early spring flocking with its kind in Northern Spain and distinguished by its feathery crest that springs from the centre of the crown?

Our South African Museum shows no crested variety properly speaking though the male specimen of the *Karoo lark* (*alaemon nivosa*) from Hoetjes Bay makes some faint attempt at a tuft. Common in the south west of Cape Province, is a *sky lark* of which, when he soars and starts to sing the long loose feathers at the back of the neck come up. I may add that at the time of my visit to St. Helena Bay it was remarked as a peculiarity of a lark there that when suddenly disturbed the feathers of the head were apt to stand erect, like hair on end, doubtless imitating its ancestor's behaviour on the first approach of the white man!

Looking with friendly eye upon the natives' lurcher-like cur—second cousin to the Jackal—bony, lank, and seemingly mean-spirited, though faithful and capable as its master of a fight for self defence, he naively remarks: "their numerous dogs resemble those of Portugal and bark not unlike them."

On a memorable Sunday afternoon, November 12th, the diarist went ashore and joined his comrades in bar-

gaining for curios; "we obtained shells, which they wore on their ears, which looked as if plated and tails of foxes which they wore attached to sticks, with which they fan the face." It would be a wild-cat or the reddish yellow, silvery grey, 'vaal Jackal,' whose appendix was thus utilised--a creature distinguished by a tail about twelve inches long (see specimen in S.A. Museum). The jackal's tail, fastened to a foot-long handle and held by a *riempje* round the waist, served all the purposes of a handkerchief and is in use to-day, for wiping off perspiration and for keeping flies at a distance!

Centuries before the white man learned to value copper as Namaqualand's chief asset. Natives carried on rude smelting operations, of which the remains are yet to be found near the Orange River, accordingly they wore small beads of that metal in their ears and were ready to part with valuables in exchange for the Portuguese ceitel, a tiny copper coin roughly corresponding to our mite. To-day the same copper ear-rings exist among Namaqualand Hottentots as were in vogue in Sparrman's time (though that usually careful author contradicts himself denying their existence in the Text and showing them among his illustrations.) An old author (Vogel) cited by Kolbe says that the copper beads of the Hottentots were hung not from their ears but from their hair-tufts. Riebeek's explorers found the Namaquas displaying in their persons remarkable specimens of the industry. Their 'locks of hair (some of them as long as a Dutchmans') they thread with copper beads, covering the hands all over. Around their necks they have chains strung 15 or 16 times. Many have round copper plates suspended from the chains.'

Burton speaks of *wampum* i.e shells ground to swell their disks as a prehistoric ornament still common in South Africa. Possibly the shells now obtained were covered with copper which had been smelted in Namaqua-

land and beaten out into thin plates with stone hammers. Again, among the Bechuana (who borrowed their fashions freely from Bushmen) copper ear-plates of their own manufacture were worn as a badge of rank.

The following particulars concerning these primitive folk, are worthy of close attention, as showing their condition before it was modified not only by contact with the white trader, but also by an intermingling of the Tribes.

"In this land there are dingy men (*bacos*) who eat only sea wolves (seals) and whales and flesh of gazelles and roots of herbs, and they go covered with skins and wear sheaths over their virile parts. And their arms are horns browned in the fire and fitted to poles of wild olive."

A Cape olive might be found further up country, resembling the European variety, but its hard white wood could not easily be fashioned into weapons. Along the Berg river and growing by itself in the veld was the *Alium hout* (alum wood) *bosch* of which the tough stompjes are still in request among the local farmers. It attains to the height of a tree; its close grained khaki-coloured wood takes a very good polish. Its substantial but not very upright trunk might be split so as to suit the purpose. The assegai boom (*curtisea faginda*) was more likely to be chosen. Its yellowish wood when rubbed with fat and passed over a flame becomes hard, smooth, and straight as a die. The spear was probably tipped with the front piece of Koodoo or Gemsbok horn, the curve being rectified by heat.

The diarist's note regarding the arms of these natives is of special interest, as showing that they only hurled their weapons by hand, and were without any knowledge of the bow and arrow. This note is supplemented by the diarist's own account of the wounding of the chief captain and three or four others by the *assegai* which they

carried. It is likewise confirmed by the historians' sometimes fuller and always much later accounts. Goes speaks of their arms as darts (daixo) and assegais furnished at the end with bones (these being for fishing) and the points of horns of animals which wound as if they were tempered steel. He also mentions the *assegais* that caused such a hasty retreat to the boat. Barros and Sousa speak less accurately of a "shower of arrows." When we come to the Bay of S. Bras there will be more to say on this subject and on the absence of musical instruments based on the bow.

Have we sufficient data to identify these natives at S. Helena Bay whom even our careful diarist (on two occasions) dubs as negroes—can it be definitely stated to which of the brown races they actually belong?

The following description by Castenheda seems at first sight to indicate a Hottentot origin. "*As our people afterwards found, the men who dwelt in the neighbourhood of that bay* are small in stature, of ill-favoured countenance and darkish colour and when they spoke it appeared that they were hiccoughing. Their dress is the skins of animals fashioned like French cloaks...." The rest of this paragraph is 'lifted' from the *Roteiro* and clumsily enough in one part, for among the natives' foodstuffs are included all birds mentioned by our diarist! Now the words which we have italicised show that Castenheda refers to later Expeditions inland which would come across Hottentots clothed in skins carefully dressed and sewn together. [See picture from Kolbe II p. 45, ch. 39 and 37].

His remarks about the hiccoughing (or sobbing as the word may be rendered) carry us no further. Bushmen employed a greater variety of clicks than their neighbours; perhaps their linguistic attainments have been more often compared to clucking of brood hens and Calicut cocks (turkeys), but the actual word Hottentoo

or Hottentot is said to be an imitation of sounds produced by a rattle in the mouth!

Found in van Riebeeck's days much more to the southward than at present there is nothing that suggests their descent from the da Gamas' untutored savage. The early Dutch settlers found them well in advance of their ruder Cape neighbours in respect of arms, which, by that time included the bow and a peculiarly effective shield.

There is equally little to suggest that the Portuguese are now in contact with a Bushman tribe; though the comparative absence of fierceness and (if we accept de Goes' view) of treacherous conduct is not a decisive proof to the contrary. At any rate Stow may be quoted in support of the opinion that the Bushman was more civilised than many of his conquerors and was only rendered irreconcilable by habitual ill-treatment. What has already been said concerning their arms will convince us that stress must not be laid on another negative consideration, viz., the absence of the poisoned arrow. Hottentots seem to have been much slower and more patient than Bushmen in their adoption of this means of attack; but it is open to question whether even Bushmen had taken to its use in the earliest days of their migration to South Africa.

It remains to suggest that these natives may be classed as 'Strand loopers' not merely by virtue of their position and occupation, but in the more precise sense of the term, *i.e.* as belonging to a race which is coming to be regarded as the most primitive of our sub-continent. The notion of a South African people with more right to be styled aborigines than the Bushman, the Hottentot and the Kaffir is not really new-fangled. Galton, when exploring Damaraland came across a tribe whom the Bushmen despised but looked upon as older inhabitants of the country; moreover they themselves acknowledged kinship with the baviaans! It is claimed by F. C.

Shrubsall that careful measurements (see Dr. Perinquay's papers in *Annals of S.A. Museum*) show marked differences between the Hottentot (easily distinguishable by his outstanding cheek bones), the Bushman (whose forehead is notably low) and the Strand looper with high, square skull.

Of the Caapmen or Watermen found in isolation by Riebeek on the Cape Peninsula, Stow says cautiously: "It seems, however, almost certain that these different hordes were the representatives of tribes living in the country previous to the arrival of the pastoral Hottentots and were therefore more nearly allied to the Bushmen than to them, even if some of them were not the remnants of old Bushman tribes."

The Strand loopers' numerous "middens" stretching at intervals from Namaqualand to Kei Mouth, bear witness to the fact that until quite recent times their chief sustenance was drawn from the sea. In regard to harvesting the deep, they and the other yellow people present a sharp contrast with the Bantu from whom, if we offer him a fish, may be expected the indignant reply: "Our nation is not in the habit of eating snakes!" These shell heaps among the sandhills contain *inter alia* fragments of rude pottery and stone implements. The latter were put to a variety of uses; tips for darts and arrow heads, weights for digging-sticks, cleaning stones and sharp-edge disks for throwing, scrapers for preparing skins, and delicately flaked ones employed in shaping the tiny ostrich shell beads, which when strung on reim-pjes of antelope sinew, adorned the person of many a dark beauty. The industry was until lately carried on by different branches of the yellow race and in different places, not, in an age of the past, or if so, it ended yesterday, as Dr. Perinquay remarks in "The Stone Age."

Dr. Theal is of opinion that the shell heaps of our coasts were not all made by "impoverished Hottentots,"

some he would ascribe to mixed breeds—the result of union between Hottentot conquerors and Bushmen women. Others again he puts down to Bushmen origin owing to the paintings on rocks overhanging deposits. At Mossel Bay the heap found in a cavern some 300 feet above sea-level near Cape S. Braix was at the time of Barros and Lichenstein the subject of controversy, the former ascribing its cart-loads of mussel shells to sea-birds, the latter agreeing with ‘the sensible inhabitants of the neighbourhood that this cave was formerly a common resort of the Hottentots.’

Finds of ostrich egg shells, stone knives and other hunters’ weapons are by no means limited to the coast line, specimens being unearthed up country amid semi-fossilised bones in river gravel or by ancient lakeside.

But some of the well finished implements on the sand-hill shell mounds are of no less significance to antiquarians who classify them as “Palaeolithic,” they being similar in make and use to those which we connect with the far-away Stone ages of Europe.

CHAPTER VI.

*“With such mad seas the daring Gama fought
 For many a day and many a dreary night
 Incessant labouring round the stormy Cape
 By bold ambition led.”*
*Full in view the giant Cape appears
 Wide spread its limbs, and high its shoulders rears,
 Behind us, now, it curves the bending side
 And our bold vessels plough the eastern tide.*

IF IT WERE DESIRABLE to seek a material basis for Camoens' Spirit of the Stormy Cape one of the boldest and airiest of poetical allegories, we might find such in the phenomena known to mariners on those coasts as White Squalls (i.e. Whirlwinds.) They come on quite suddenly on the horizon, only where the sea is lashed into foam, can any indication of their dreaded approach be discerned. But to the more inexperienced among our crews these happenings are proof positive that some malign influence is thwarting their purpose and threatening their lives:

“Still the winds all prosperously blew;
 When lo!
 With voice deep-toned and horrid he began,
 Which seemed from Oceans very depth to rise;
 “Oh race.” he said of will more desperate
 Than all who've dared great things on earth like
 these.

I hope to take
 'Gainst him deep vengeance who discovered me
 Nor shall the mischief thus be limited

..each year ye shall..

See loss and shipwreck of such kind befall
 That death shall be the lightest ill of all.

Lus. V. 37-44.

The vaticination is cut short by da Gamas' "Who art thou?" And the spell is visibly breaking when under the name Adamastor, the Spirit is forced to confess himself the guilt-stained hero of an ancient intrigue. Belonging to the Giant race that matched their might with Heaven, he indeed rebelled not against the Upper Gods nor was punished by the red bolts of Jupiter. His Uplifting and his Downfall were due to one and the same cause, Presumptuous Love. For the sake of the nereid Thetis, princess of the wave, he would make war on Neptune. A stratagem of the loved one deceives his senses. He thinks to seize her and caress "sweet eyes and hair and cheek," but finds within his arms "a rugged mount with harshest wood and thorny thickets placed:" wooing divinity he is wedded to earth.

His brethren still groan beneath the mountains that were "on mountains piled, 'to reach the sky." Adamastor seeking refuge in a world unknown, is pursued and literally petrified by mocking Fate:

My stature of enormous size
 Into this Cape remote the Gods did change;
 Which for redoubled anguish of my woes,
 Thetis around me in these waters flows.

With an affection of wisdom more suited to the character of a savant during the recent discussions at the court of King Manoel, our love-sick giant cites the four geographers Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Strabo and Pliny, as contented alike to be ignorant of this Cape "occult and grand."

Vasco may be safely trusted to lay the ghosts, meanwhile we pay a second imaginary visit to the captain-major's cabin, in the company of Pero d'Alenquer and beg him to point out for us the Documents in question. Learned Ptolemy, first on the above list, his being a name with which to conjure, produces a chart about the year 150 A.D., wherein the Roman Empire and bordering countries are accurately given. But the author passes insensibly from the world of ascertained fact into the realms of conjecture. Unfortunately he adopts the belief that the *Sea of India* was completely enclosed. Accordingly a fringe of coast unites the *Regio Barbarica* of *Ethiopia Interior* to those of Eastern Asia. The Southern part of the Dark Continent (regarded as unknown and unknowable by reason of Heat,) stretches on the further side to the world's end and so to speak, dries up the Atlantic in a manner that bars all hope of further discoveries. The master's sanction having been given to this theory, his disciples in succeeding centuries accounted it impertinence even to speak of the circumnavigation of Africa. But whereas this school of geographers asserted that all the great seas were encircled by land, others were moved by the Spirit of contradiction to assert that all the then known continents were compassed about by an Oceanic highway. The seeming innovators were not without proof that theirs was in reality the more ancient opinion. The Africa of Strabo (about A.D. 20) went but little further south than Cape Nun on the west and Cape Guardafui on the east, whilst the line of Coast that joined these gave promise of a south east passage from Europe to India. Vague stories of ancient voyages to and fro along this ocean route had been handed down by Pliny and were accepted in later times by men of repute.

It may be taken for granted that Zacuto's selection includes a copy of a remarkable Map. viz.: that of the

year 1351, which shows a great extension of Africa southward, though the artist has rounded off the extremity of the continent, as if with one sweep of the brush he would avoid all detailed questioning. We have seen how with instinct true to the poetical imaginings of his age, Camoens makes this Gateway of the Unknown at once a Refuge for Traditions and a new beginning of Ghostly Terrors. Classic Legend had related of what afterwards came to be regarded as Home Waters that a too venture-some crew risked enchantment by the Sirens who with beckoning hand 'lured mariners to their Doom;' Christian Faith had dispersed thence many such heathenish tales, yet for a long while it was orthodox to believe that 'the dreadful Bishop of the Seas with his phosphorescent Mitre had been described in Mid-Atlantic, vast and menacing.' Again, Prince Henry's bold mariners removed current reports concerning Cape Nun and Bojador; but the fog of superstition seemed only to shift—perpetually southward.

Fresh discovery quickened the ingenuity of the more learned obstructionists. A fuller knowledge of Territories beyond the Ganges caused him to lengthen that imaginary barrier wherewith they had encompassed the Seas of India. Similarly, headland after headland rising from mist along the coast of Lower Guinea seemed but to demonstrate the futility of further search for an eastern passage, since the edge of the world would prove the only Land's End!

But Zacuto's selection would probably include reports sent home by Pedro de Covilham who had written from Cairo that when exploring ships had reached the Eastern Ocean they should 'enquire for Sofala and the Island of the Moon (Madagascar).'

If, on seeing here the log and charts of Diaz, we should declare that the Expedition which d'Alenquer had so ably assisted ought for ever to have silenced opposition, he

would reply that the results achieved by the crews of Dias and *Infante* were discounted by their own unfavourable reports. Those in search of excuse for not having reached a definite goal were tempted to exaggerate when speaking of the storms that beset them about the extremity of Africa and of the baffling currents beyond. Nor was it until they were well on their homeward way that disappointed men and officers perceived with any fulness the far-reaching effects of their journey. A change of outlook was afterwards symbolised in the story that the omen was bettered by renaming *Cabo tormentoso* as *Cabo da bona Esperanca*. D'Alenquer could also tell us how prudently that prince had cautioned Bartholomew to have the ships finished in a manner proper to withstand the fury of the seas of this Cape 'about which the opinion of mariners was beginning to give rise to tales of fabulous perils, as was anciently the case with C. Bojador.'

There is no positive proof that impatience ever led the chief pilot to grumble at his lot, much less to break into mutinous speech; but granted as correct Correa's estimate of Vasco's haughty bearing he must have been more than human if he did not indulge in soliloquy such as this. "Were it not for Diogo's cheeriness and the sympathy of a faithful few who served with our former commander, not to mention the kindness of Paulo, my position on the St. Gabriel might easily become untenable." For his part, the younger da Gama makes no attempt to conceal his opinion of the persons as well as of the professional services rendered by pilots. He sincerely distrusts their appearance of caution which none the less imposes a galling restraint upon his own sanguine temperament: Vasco, when talking to one ambitious pilot of another, viz.: Magellan the famous Portuguese who deserted Manoel's service, said it was a pity the king did not cut off his head, "but all men who are very good pilots have mad fancies." Contempt for the

fraternity must have increased tenfold if his eyes lighted upon a sheet *published in 1500* by Juan de la Cosa, the Spanish pilot of Columbus. Herein the chief indication of the present voyage is the name Calicut, on the *Persian* shore, with a legend to the east of it "terra discubierto por el rey dom Manuel de Portugal." But the coastline is Ptolemaic and there is no hint of the peninsula shape of India, as if its author still waited to be convinced that either a Diaz or a da Gama had ventured out of Port!

Hence at this eleventh hour it is a question whether an assurance from D'Alenquer of his having passed the Great Divider would be fully credited by the average man before the mast. Doubtless we might now hear that former exploit being minutely discussed, and it would be recalled that 'seas colder and no longer like those of the land of Guinea drove them for thirteen days with their sails at half mast.' It may be some sailor's reminiscence of those perils that Correa has in mind when he says the da Gamas' fleet went so far southward, amid continuous storms, 'that there was almost not six hours sunlight in the day (a statement which would imply reaching nearly 60°S. at *mid-winter!*) and that on tacking they found the coast still running out to sea, seeing which masters and pilots were in great confusion saying *that the land went across the sea and had no end to it.*' When this came to the chief captain's ears he rebuked the pilots and on the strength of information received from the Jewish astronomer, ventured to prophesy that by one more standing out to sea they would attain their end. This tack must have taken them yet further south! The crews, unable to prepare their food, grew sick with fear and hardship. Clamour to return was loudest in the ships, but the captains refused to act without their chief who, "as he was a very choleric man at times with angry words he made them be silent." When masters and pilots renewed appeal; the chief cap-

tain "did not choose" to comply, when the winds were so cold that men could not move "he comported himself very angrily." Yet "he gave them great encouragement, without ever sleeping or taking repose, but always taking part in hardship; coming up at the boatswain's pipe as they all did." Correa will not let his voyagers cross the boundary without a stratagem which tells of divided counsels and depends for success upon their commander's being literally caught napping. When the weather abated "so as to make the land and to ease the ships, which they were better able to do at night when the captain slept, which the other ships did also, as they followed the lantern which Vasco da Gama carried."

One suspects that here, on a background of the hardships suffered by Diaz and his reluctant crews, we have a portrait of Vasco superimposed! Correa's vivid description has occasionally a blurred effect as of Dissolving Views when a new picture is coming into focus.

We now place side by side two accounts of the final stage rounding this Cape: (1) "The weather which caused this furious sea ceasing, they made for land, steering to the east, thinking the coast ran from north to south as they found it so far. But after sailing some days without reaching it, they steered to the north and thus reached a bay which they called dos Vaqueiros."

(2) Seeing how much they had run and did not find the land, they sailed large so as to make it, and the sea and wind were moderate, they knew that they had doubled the Cape."

The former extract, from Barros, confessedly relates to Dias, in the latter Correa professes to give the result of the da Gamas' prolonged efforts; but it was Dias who could tell only by inference that the Great Obstacle was overcome, whilst the da Gamas knew the exact moment of their success.

This much is made clear by the *Roteiro* and in returning to its matter-of-fact entries we emerge from an atmosphere of poetry and legend into the light of ordinary day.

With the precision of a log-book it records the last hundred hours of the struggle from Ocean to Ocean. That Thursday morning they put out from St. Helena Bay the winds had been southerly "and on Saturday late we had sight of the said Cape of Good Hope and on this same day we stood out to sea, and by night stood in towards the land. And on Sunday, in the morning which was the nineteenth day of the month of November, we were again off the Cape and we were not able to double it because the wind was S.S.E., and the said Cape juts out N.E. and S.W., and on this same day we stood out to sea and in the night of the following day we came towards the land. And on Wednesday (November 22nd), at noon, we pass by the said Cape along the coast with wind astern."

The diarist utters no complaint; but doubtless, sharing d'Alenquer's knowledge of difficulties between them and their goal, sounds no note of triumph.

Goes, is not so patient; he cuts off two days' toil and relieves his readers' feelings by scenes of tumultuous joy. This much we gather from his mention of *folias*, a sort of confused, mad, dance used in Portugal accompanied by singing and the sound of timbrel or tabor. Calm weather enables our adventurers to hug the coast 'so closely that their eyes are gladdened by seeing, across the meadows, many breeds of cattle large and small.' Meanwhile they are being wafted to full enjoyment of the pleasures of sight and sound—a well-earned haven of rest.

Strange ditties singing in a language strange
The sable women on their oxen rode;
(They prize, beyond all beasts that herded range,

These beeves, slow paced and patient of their load)
 They sang in concert, true to every change,
 And tun'd to pastoral reeds their voices flow'd:
 I thought, while listening to the rural strain,
 The age of Tityrus was come again.

Lus. V. 83, Quillinan.

Late on St. Catherine's Day (Saturday, November 25th) the fleet entered the Bay of St. Bras, where they were to remain for 13 days; the reason our Diarist assigns us such a lengthy stay that here the victualling ship was broken up and her contents transferred.

After six days about ninety of the natives appeared, some walking along the beach and some upon the hills. Most of the official persons, including the Diarist, happened to be on board the chief-captain's ship. They soon launched the boats, but mindful of Veloso's mishap, took care that these were well armed. 'When close in, Vasco threw little round bells on to the shore. The natives not only picked these up, but ventured to approach and take others from his hand,' which caused great astonishment, because when Bartholomew Dias was here they fled from him and took from him none of the objects which he offered them. On the contrary, one day when he was taking in water, which is here very good, at a watering-place close to the beach, they defended it by throwing stones from the top of a hill which is above that watering-place, and Bartholomew Dias fired at them with a cross bow and killed one of them.

That shot was a sad blow to the pacific policy consistently followed by Dias towards the African natives. He had restored two of them, captured by a predecessor and had been told "to have on the shore at intervals negroes and negresses well dressed and well affected towards Portugal:" it was fondly hoped that they would glean tidings of Prester John and as living monuments of

Portuguese benevolence would kindle in the breasts of tribal chiefs a burning desire to cultivate the white man's friendship. Their fate among non-negro races in South Africa must have been even less uncertain than that of criminals afterwards left by the da Gamas at various ports which they failed to visit on their return!

Behind the wedge-shaped point still called St. Blaize (English for Sao Braz) at the south end of this Bay the rocks are interrupted by three sandy coves. In the central one (now called Munro Cove) water, though slightly brack, is fairly abundant and a rill might be seen gliding over the beach, its point distant three stone-throws from the sea. Here in all probability was the scene of the conflict and the irreconcilables would be strand-loopers who issued forth from the cavern mentioned in our previous chapter. Its south eastern aspect, and position near the summit of the Cape, about 300 feet above the waves, enables the occupants to keep watch upon intruders. From this cave, or from one fifty feet higher still, the native sentinels would come sliding along the hill to the edge of the gully, whence the driving away of Diaz's seamen might appear but a pastime to those who were armed with the typical weapons of troglodytes!

(Van Riebeeck's Journal records a similar encounter with *Fishermen*, "living beyond the mountains eastward of the Cape, towards the Boya da Sambras." A punitive Expedition took them by surprise and captured their stock of arrows; so the natives promptly reverted to ancestral tactics. Posting themselves on the heights that over-looked the white men's path, they "rolled down such heavy stones that it was impossible to pass through, for the stones as they fell loosened others, which rolled down likewise").

(Jons. Pt. I. p. 38 and Pt. III. p. 61)

It may be supposed that Vasco advised by d'Alenquer to avoid so ill-omened a spot, now made for the anchorage about 2 miles further from the Cape and due south of

Robben Island. Where their ships would still find partial protection from the heavy swell that sets in when winds blow from south and south-east.

Paulo might well approve the choice of a spot at which the fishing is uncommonly good; by the way, sport would not here be accompanied by the same risk as in St. Helena Bay, owing to the absence of whales at this particular season! At that first place of call the vessels had been thoroughly overhauled and there is now no need to bring them ashore unless for dismantling and burning the store ship, which Barros suggests to have taken place two leagues further on. Within half a mile where rock and reef have given place to sand, the ships' boats find easy landing, and a supply of fresh water without the necessity of digging for it.

The comparatively civilised inhabitants who only appeared after the fleet had been nearly a week at the Bay and whose manner of welcome proved a surprise, were Hottentots—such as the cheerful Auteniquas (men loaded with honey) trekking eastward for a few miles to their good coastland pasture, dotted with bush and aloes, abounding in ostriches and antelopes; or such as the Attaquas, another tribe with headquarters hereabouts in early Dutch days. The land through which they trekked though scarcely supplied with water was on the whole suitable for rearing cattle and fat-tailed sheep; men and women frequently rode together on the same ox!

The natives' apparent mildness did not cause the chief-captain's vigilance to relax. Unwilling to disembark in the midst of a possible foe where neighbouring bush would afford them cover he moved to a still more open part of the beach, perhaps near the sand choked mouth of the Hartebeest river, and beckoned the natives to follow. The captains were accompanied to shore by a body guard, some of whom carried cross-bows. Vasco discreetly ordered the crowd to disperse, and approach

by ones and twos, upon signal. Scarlet caps, in addition to the bells, were now distributed, whilst our men received in return rings of ivory worn by the natives on their arms and made from the tusks of elephants; for these animals then roamed in the neighbourhood.

On the morning (Saturday, December 2nd,) the effects of these preliminaries was seen; some two hundred natives, both great and small, arrived and brought with them about a dozen large cattle as well as four or five sheep. When they appeared the Portuguese again made for the shore. More than one authority declares that the natives showed complete unwillingness to part with their characteristic and most prized possessions, so that neither by barter nor by any other means could a single head of cattle be obtained. But we may confidently accept the diarist's report not alone of an entertainment wherein he himself took part but also of the bargaining to which it formed the prelude: "They began presently to play on four or five flutes and some they played high and others low in a manner that harmonised very well for negroes, from whom one does not expect music and they danced like negroes. And the chief captain ordered the trumpets to be sounded and we in the boats danced, the chief captain likewise on returning with us. And when the festivity was at an end we landed where we had before, and then for three bracelets, we purchased a black ox off which we dined on the Sunday, and he was very fat and his flesh was tasty as the meat in Portugal."

We must needs admire the cautious retirement of our chief-captain to his boats, in order that he may safely enjoy the dance—a dance for Sunday's dinner! He seems by anticipation to deprecate the risks at close quarters so rashly undertaken by the first Dutch Commander. For Van Riebeeck will one day lament the spoiling of at least two suits by the embrace of savages whose heads dropped fat and bodies gleam with train-oil.

On the present occasion harmony prevails, and so far from being at leisure for serious criticism each side is intent on perfecting its own impromptu 'our people were much entertained by them' and 'their pastoral flute'—Ba.

To this flute scant justice is done in later Travels; (but see end of ch. note I); a joyous accompaniment of the community life led by nomadic warrior-herdsmen, it seems with their decline to have gradually passed northward, as being less adaptable to the ways of civilisation than other native instruments—though a few years ago its use at festivities was as common near Steinkopf (30 miles south of the Orange River) as police regulations would allow!

A little known but unequally appreciated instrument used by Bushman, Hottentots, Basuto and Coast Kaffirs, is the Goura or Gom-Gom. It usually consists of a bow, from one to three feet long, made of Olive iron-wood or Camel-thorn, and spanned by a chord of sinew or gut.

The sound produced by several musicians performing together has been likened to a dance of witches round an infernal cauldron!

Yet Kolbe is of opinion that when there are three or four *Gom Goms*, of different chords, together so far from anyone's head being made sore by too loud a sound, "the ear is pleasantly tickled (het gehoor liefelijk gestruikt word)." He indeed somewhat varies the description. His chord runs from one end of the bow to the other, both quill and chord being held in the mouth. By way of a sounding board part of a cocoa or bladder nut shell attached to the chord, but capable of being moved up and down to vary the tone. The instrument as known to him has been apparently derived from or greatly modified by the contact of Hottentot slaves with higher forms of civilisation. The same was probably true of Sparmann's 't *Guthi* (with its 3 or 4 strings screwed to a board and

scraped on with a bow) and of Thompson's Raamakie (40 inch long by 4 broad, having the half of a calabash affixed to one end, with strings like those of a violin. It belongs to a Bushman woman in the service of a Colonist.

Attention has been drawn to a limitation in the kind of offensive arms carried by the natives at the time of the da Gamas' expedition. Castanheda alone gives details concerning these at St. Bras. But his Dartes of woode toasted....and for swords, hornes and bones of Beastes simply recall Goes' description of native weapons at the former Bay.*

Now we are to note how at this time there is among them a complete absence of any musical instrument resembling a bow or violin. This is no mere coincidence, natives could not be expected to imitate what except in their terrified flight from Dias, they had never seen before and were not yet permitted to handle.

Playing and dancing were renewed next day by a still larger number (ontros tantos) of natives collected in two places on the beach. The company included little boys (mocos pequenos), but the women were posted on a height near the sea. That the lads (mocos) should also remain apart, seems to have caused no suspicion, but whilst parlying by signs was proceeding these same youths were seen to creep furtively through the bush, weapons in hand. The men had with them many oxen and cows, so the chief captain brought matters to a head by telling Martin Affonso who had lived in Manicongo (Congo) to advance and barter bracelets for an ox: "they having got the bracelets, took him by the hand and went to point out to him the watering-place asking why we took away

*Castanheda, ed 1582; here quoted fr. Mendelssohn's *Catalogue*, vol. p. 30.

It may here be mentioned that Goes in his detailed account of the death of D'Almeida says much about the native weapons, their darts and assegais tipped with unsteeled iron (ferro morto), and stones, and harpoons, but does not mention the bow.

the water and commenced to thrust the cattle towards the bush. And the chief captain, when he saw that, ordered us others to get together and likewise that the said Martin Affonso should seek safety—this because it appeared to him that they were planning some treachery. Then having got together we went to where we were at first and they followed us.” And the captain-major ordered that we should go ashore with lances and javelins (azagayas) and strung cross-bows and clad with our breastplates. This display of shining armour only caused the natives on their part to run together near the bush. Now Vasco’s chief concern was to prevent a repetition of Diaz’s mishap. (As a modern Portuguese writer has it) ‘Though in the performance of his duty haughty and venturesome (*temerasio*), he held it important, to avoid, so far as possible, unnecessary conflicts in which he might lessen the number of his crew without getting the fruits of victory.” Orders were therefore given to the men to come together to the boats. Then, to show the natives that he possessed the power, but not the will to hurt them, two bombards were fired from the stern of the long boat (*barca*). At the terrifying sound they fled helter skelter leaving behind them both skins and weapons. But when they had reached the shelter of the bush nothing further happened, two of them ventured back to collect these articles, after which they reassembled, and driving the cattle before them, continued their flight to the mountains.

What are we to make of the natives’ conduct on this occasion?

On the first day they had been given little round bells as presents with further bells and red caps in return for ivory armlets. On the second day they had exchanged a cow for three of the Portuguese bracelets. But on the third day the Portuguese failed to produce any novelties and found themselves even more at a loss than at St. Helena Bay where, owing to the proximity of Namaquas

the natives "valued copper very highly." As in the case of Diaz the misunderstanding was due to a well known native trait viz.: unwillingness to brook interference with their watering places. Another exact parallel is found in the experiences of Francis Galton in S.W. Africa. One of the great difficulties of his Expedition was the watering of the oxen. He is glad to get to water in the middle of the day when the wells were disengaged. He finds that 'the Ovampos make a great fuss about water: *if I wanted them to drink I had to buy it with beads.*'

After exacting toll from the strangers it is probable that the Hottentots would be willing to continue the barter provided that they could get their own price. The following passage from Van Riebeeck's Journal shows that in the first year of his landing the commander was non-plussed by similar tactics. "Bought one sheep though we paid more for it...natives raising the prices and *continually driving their cattle away* after the sale of an animal....Not easy to fathom this peculiar people."

Journal Dec. 17. 1652.

A glance through the 17th century records shews that even the Dutch had to serve a long apprenticeship in dealing with these fastidious savages whom as we have seen Riebeeck did his best to treat on terms of social intimacy with or without the help of liquor!

Great was the variety of copper articles of all kinds produced for their delectation, plates of red, plates of yellow copper—yellow copper wire (thick, middling, thin,) rings of thin copper wire and smaller ones. But at times the natives were "gorged" with copper...having no use for it except as an ornament. "There were brought forth various kinds of beads taken from Guinea cargo, large imitation blood coral (round and oblong) or large imitation blue beads 'obtainable in the Neurenburg shops;' tobacco so strong

that it tickles the noses: for if we had no more tobacco we could hardly get a cow or sheep for copper alone—a tub of arrack when chiefs have to be propitiated. By regaling the vendors on bread and brandy the total cost of a sheep was only 8 or 9 stivers—if paid for in copper alone the price would then be doubled.

To sum up, it was no disgrace that the Da Gamas did not ply the native with liquor, as the earliest Dutch settlers did, and for that matter the English sailors before 1652. Nor can we be surprised at their being unable to hit off to a nicety the Hot-tentot taste. Cotton stuffs, pantaloons and silk jackets such as were acceptable on the Guinea coast would here be as much out of place to these skin clad natives as when offered to the Esquimaux!

The day before he left Vasco placed on a height close to the shore a stone pillar and cross: The latter 'we made out of a mizzen mast and it was very high' (R). This was probably a relic of the Provision-ship, whose crew would be glad to join the others rather than risk the fate of nine men left behind by Diaz, in his store-ship, off Lower Guinea, returning after an absence of as many months, he found but three survivors, one of whom 'overcome with joy...died on the spot.' (B.) Of pillars our chief captain 'carried a great number with the arms of the King of Portugal engraved on them to be set up in ports and places where he thought necessary, according to the instructions he had with him' (G.).

This dual token of Faith and Dominion was short lived enough, both cross and pillar being demolished by ten or twelve natives, before the eyes of the Fleet as they were in the act of departing:

THE REED PIPE.

(See Chap. VI., p. 92.)

Kolbe has not himself seen this instrument, but quotes from the Jesuit Tachard. In the one case it was used by a Namaqualand party of 50 men, each having a neatly made (zeer fraai gemaakd) reed that gave forth a very beautiful sound. (Kolbe 11 p. 10, 74).

Another time the Governor van der Stel himself related how, being among a very numerous tribe, he had ordered a performance by his trumpeter and other Musicians; whereupon they came to him in a company in order that their musicians might be heard in turn—each of 30 had a separate instrument—a Director stood in their midst with a bent horn—to get the tone they made use of a *circle* with a small opening in their midst—this is pushed forward or backwards with a little piece of wood. Kolbe, himself a tall talker, is loth to believe others' wonder tales. The painstaking Tachard might have saved himself the trouble of repeating a pure invention (een loutere fabel) had he known, as Kolbe knew, the Governor's power of making a gnat into an elephant!

Sparrman, the botanist, was just as credulous. He declares that the Hottentots had pipes in plenty, but used them exclusively for smoking, an occupation that charmed them more than all the music in the universe! The best description to be found of these pipes as used to-day, is by Dr. Leonard Schnetze (Aus. Namaland and Kalahari, 1907). For the loan of this valuable work I am indebted to the Rev. E. Meyer and to Mr. H. Schuld, late of O'okiep, for help with translation of the following extracts:---

Reed Pipe — a — ti. In dry districts where no reeds are, they make them from the roots of an *Acacia*. The piece of root is scaled off. If the pipe is ready they close it one end and fill it up with milk that it may not get dry. They draw up and down the grass toning stopper. A full reed-pipe orchestra demands at least, 9 musicians—each one with his well-tuned reed; like first and 2nd fiddle, etc., so from 1st to last each one has different notes—each has a separate name. The man with smallest reeds has 4 to 6 pipes in each hand—all tuned alike. The next has three reeds which he holds in *one* hand. The third called the sixer has six reeds which he holds in one hand. The fourth has one or two in each hand. The fifth the crying tone. Only one man in the whole orchestra has only one pipe. This man gives the tone note. The “cork” is worked up and down to get a higher or lower tone. The reed-pipes can imitate the noise made by the bull when he comes to the water—there is the song of the grazing bull—one imitates sound made by blacksmith when shoeing.

According to Stow the reeds were cut at a particular season and the flutes were made, by one or two skilled men, of different sizes and length, so as to obtain a variety of notes. Their use was (on occasion) reserved exclusively for women who, when they had a mind to challenge a rival in another kraal, went thither in procession with an assortment of flutes and otherwise provided for a two or three days’ test of skill.

The dancing was accompanied by a song called *Ko-Ku-cuvia*!

Tune and dance were favourites with the *Koranas*, purest of *Hottentot* tribes, who, on the banks of the ‘*Na Gariep* (Orange River) acquired a knowledge of the instruments, from *Bushman* aborigines.

CHAPTER VII.

*Now waves the bursting clouds descend
 And heaven and sea in meeting tempests blend
 The black-winged whirlwinds o'er the ocean sweep,
 And from his bottom roars the stagg'ring deep.
 Driven by the yelling blasts' impetuous sway
 Stagg'ring we bound, yet onward bound away.*

Lus. V.

*Think'st thou if this, the numerous crew we bore
 Of heroes, had not been a Lusian fleet,
 It had perchance obedience and belief
 Maintained or towards its king or towards its chief?
 Think'st thou they had not been already moved
 Mutiny 'gainst their chief's command to wage,
 And, turning pirates, o'er the sea had roved,
 Driven by despair, by hunger and by rage?
 In truth they were most deeply tried and proved.*

Lus. V., 1, 71, 72.

A SAILOR'S YARN.

WHEN I WAS A YOUNGSTER the ever recurring question "Is it true?" received in the case of *Robinsoe Crusoe* a fairly satisfactory answer—"Well, Yes, it is founded upon fact." Defoe himself (if one may credit him with the authorship of the "Third Part"), recognised this yearning when he so minutely explained: "It is true that

I had a faithful servant, the man Friday. It is true that I had a parrot and taught him to call me by my name."

For the following story, pitched by Correa we can return a like answer to this same question.

They again some 5 days after leaving S. Bras, (says the Diary) stood out to sea and made ready the ships to meet the storm which they saw rising every moment, so that the water should not come in; with ropes made fast to the masts, and with shrouds passed over the yards so that the masts should remain more secure; and they took away all panels from the tops, and the sails, so as not to hold the wind; the small sails (Montas) and the lower sails all struck, and with the foresails only they prepared to weather the wind. The pilot and master told the captain-major that they had great fear because it was becoming a tempest, and that they thought they ought to put in to land and run along the coast and return to seek the great river into which they had first entered.... But when the Captain-major heard of turning backwards, he answered them that...as he was going out of the bar of Lisbon, he had promised to God in his heart not to turn back a single span's breadth of the way which he had made, that on that account they should not speak in that wise, as he would throw into the sea whomsoever spoke such things....Everything in the ship was breaking up, so that they cried to God for mercy; the crews began to sicken and die of their great hardships.—At this the pilots and masters and all the people poured out cries and lamentation to the captains—to which the captains gave no other reply than that they would do no such thing unless the Captain-major did it...the Captain-major answered them with brave words.. "backwards he would not go, even though he saw a hundred deaths before his eyes."

They hung out lights, so as not to part company.... the captains took very great care of this, because Vasco

da Gama before going out of Lisbon, when conversing alone with the Jew Zacuto in the monastery, had received from him much information as to what he should do during his voyage, and especially recommendations of great watchfulness never to let the ships part company, because if they separated it would be the certain destruction of all of them. Vasco da Gama took great care of this personally, and by means of his servants and relations in whom he trusted, this they attended to with much greater solicitude after they had heard the sailors say that *they* were many, and the Captains only a few single men; and in fact they had in their minds such an intention of rising up against the Captains, and by force putting back to Portugal, and they thought that if it became necessary to arrest them for this and bring them before the king, he would have mercy upon them. Should they not find mercy they preferred rather to die there where their wives and children and fathers were, and in their native country, and not in the sea to be eat (sic) by the fishes. With such thoughts they all spoke to one another secretly, determining to carry it out, and trusting that the king would not hang them all for the good reasons which they would all give him; or else to secure their lives they would go to Castile until they were pardoned, and *this was the greatest insolence they were guilty of*; and so they decided upon executing their plan. In taking this decision they did not perceive the danger of death unto which they were going more than ever. In the ship of Nicholas Coelho there was a sailor who had a brother who lived with Nicholas Coelho, and was foster brother of a son of his; and the sailor brother told this boy of what they had all determined to do. This boy, being very discreet, said to his brother that they should all preserve great secrecy so as not to be found out for it was a case of treason and he warned his brother not to tell anyone that he had mentioned such a thing to him. The boy on account of the affection which

he had for his master Nicholas Coelho, discovered the matter to him in great secret, and he at once gave the boy warning to be very discreet in this matter, that they should not perceive that he had told him anything of the kind. With the firm determination which Nicholas Coelho at once formed to die rather than allow himself to be seized upon, he became very vigilant both by day and night, and warned the boy to try to learn with much dissimulation all that they wanted to do, and by what means. The boy told him that they would not do it unless they could concert with the other ships so that all should mutiny. At this Nicholas Coelho remained more at ease, but was always very much on his guard. As the storm did not abate, but rather seemed to increase, and as the cries and clamour of the people were very great, beseeching him to put back, Nicholas Coelho dissembled with them saying: "brothers, let us strive to save ourselves from the storm, for I promise you that as soon as I can get speech with the Captain-major, I will require him to put back, and you will see how I will require it of him." With this they remained satisfied. Some days having passed thus with heavy storms, the Lord was pleased to assuage the tempest a little and the sea grew calm, so that the ships could speak to one another, and Nicholas Coelho coming up to speak, shouted to the Captain-major that "It would be well to put about, since every moment they had death before their eyes, and if they who were captains did not choose to do so, and so many men who went in their company were so piteously begging with tears and cries to put back the ships, and they did not choose to do so, it would be well if they should kill or arrest us, and they would put back or go where it was convenient to save their lives; which we also ought to do, and if we do not do it, let each one look out for himself, for thus I do for my part, and for my conscience sake, for I would not have to give an account of it to the Lord." "Paulo

da Gama, who also had come up within speaking distance, heard all this. When they had heard these words of N. Coelho, who, on ending his speech, at once began to move away, the Captain-major answered him that he would make a signal to him of his resolution.

Vasco da Gama as he was very quick-witted at once understood what N. Coelho's words meant and called together all crews, and said to them that he was not so valiant as not to have the fear of death like themselves, neither was he so cruel as not to feel grieved at heart to see their fears and lamentations, but that he did not wish to have to give account to God for their lives and for that reason he begged them to labour for their own safety, because if bad weather came again, he had determined to put back, but to disculpate himself with the king, it was incumbent upon him to draw up a document of the reasons for putting back, with their signatures. At this all raised their hands to heaven, saying that its mercy was already descending upon them, since it was softening the heart of the Captain-major and inclining him to put back, and they said that all would sign the great service which he would render to God and to the king by putting back. Then the Captain-major said that there was no need of the signatures of all, but only of those who best understood the business of the sea. Then the pilot and master named them, and they were 3 seamen. Upon this their Captain-major retired to his cabin, and told his servants to stand at the door of the cabin, and put inside the clerk to draw up the document and ordered the 3 seamen to enter, and dissembling he made enquiries as to returning to port and all was written down and they signed it. He then ordered them to go down below to another cabin which he had beneath his own for a store-cabin and he ordered the clerk to go down also with them, and he summoned the master and pilot and ordered them below also, telling them to go and sign, as the clerk

was there. Then he called up the seamen one by one, and ordered them to be put in irons by his servants in his cabin, and heavy irons for the master and pilot. All being well ironed and bound, the Captain-major turned them out, and called all the men ordering the master and pilot at once to give up to him the articles which they had belonging to the art of navigation, or, if not that he would at once execute them; of which being greatly afraid, they gave everything up to him. Then Vasco da Gama holding them all in his hand flung them into the sea, and said: "See here, men, that you have neither master nor pilot nor anyone to show you the way hence forward because these men whom I here arrest will return to Portugal below the Deck, if they do not die before that," (for he was aware that they had agreed amongst one another, to rise up and return by force to Portugal, and on that account had cast everything into the sea,)" and I do not require master nor pilot, because God alone is the master and pilot. To Him you must commend yourselves and beg his mercy. Henceforward let no one speak to me of putting back, for knowing of a certainty that if I do not find information of what I have come to seek that to Portugal I do not return." Then he let the other crews know that he had flung all the implements into the sea and without waiting for an answer he sheered off. Nicholas Coelho still dissimulated, affecting that he was much grieved at the Captain-major's way of treating his ships' officers....but what he had done was because of his being so strong and thorough a temperament, and promised he would plead for the prisoners. Paulo da Gama had other conversations with the officers of his ship, with much urbanity, for he was a man of gentle disposition: he also promised them that he would entreat his brother on behalf of the prisoners and bade all pray God for the saving of their lives, and that all would end well so that all remained consoled.

(It is said that the prisoners explained they had intended to bring the ships about and to bring home da Gama as prisoner—so Paulo is made to beg for their freedom on the boat with the condition that they must again wear the chains when they appeared before the king to show the difficulties he had gone through with his reluctant crew!)

“Then the prisoners and all the crew on their knees begged him for mercy with loud cries, the prisoners saying that they, being ignorant men and of faint heart, had come to an understanding to put the ship about and return to the king and offer themselves for death, if he choose to give it them, and they would have taken him a prisoner, that the king might see that he was not to blame for putting back; but this was not to have been done, except with the will of all the people of the other ships; but since God had discovered this to him before they had carried it out, let him show them clemency; for well they saw that they deserved death from him, which was more than the chains which they bore. All the crew frequently called out to him for clemency, and not to put the prisoners below the decks, where they would soon die. Then the Captain-major, showing that he only did it at their entreaty, and not for any need which he had of them, ordered them to remain in their cabins in the fore-castle still in irons, and forbade their giving any directions for the navigation of the ship, except only for the trimming of the sails and the work of the ship.

That the voyagers had encountered a genuine South-Easter with shocking results to their nervous systems is amply shown by the testimony quoted. But the Italian proverb has its application here: “If not true it is well found,” if the tale be of his own invention Correa should rank high among fabulists. His characters have the merit of consistency, their actions being in close agreement with what he has elsewhere led us to expect. First

we have in the younger da Gama a partially equipped hero, of the Blood and Thunder type it must be admitted, his leadership lacks not insight but sympathy. The mistrust of D'Alenquer (cp. ch. VI. p. 78) as chief of the obnoxious pilot race is more than a trifle overdone. Resourceful at a crisis he moves with persistence towards his goal even when momentarily forced to dissemble. Paulo's courtly bearing stands out in bold relief: selflessness enables him to act as a link between his colleagues and the commander.

Not less marked are the characteristics of Nicholas Coelho showing feudal attachment to the person of Vasco, but disguised on occasion by brusqueness; his native common sense keeps him in touch with the man before the mast and he shrewdly profits by the confidence of a cabin-boy.

This narrative may well represent an unofficial version of more or less "treasonable" grumbling and immature plots; for its survival we are perchance indebted to memoranda by Correa's degradado or to the fragmentary diary of his military chaplain aboard the St. Raphael (see p. 117, Chap. VIII.). Whether or not the picture has been coloured by traditions of later Indian voyages we do not know.

Correa's carelessness and credulity are, unfortunately in the volume dealing with our subject, the most telling witnesses against his credibility and whilst this is by far the least reliable part of his writings it only comes to us at second hand. A rash interpolater not a mere copyist, still less a man of Correa's information, must be held responsible for such an error as the following, mention having been made (a few lines before the above excerpt) of a Calm "which happened in November" almost immediately afterwards we are told "the sea rose greatly, for then the winter of that country was setting in."

Our Roteiro purports to give an account of the bad weather, which followed on something of a calm, after leaving St. Bras. But the gap from Tuesday morning to Thursday evening affords to legend a golden opportunity. Surely mystification lurks behind this half obliterated attempt to explain Coelho's erratic movements!

"On Friday, the day of our Lady's Conception, in the morning we set our sails and pursue our route. And the Thursday following which was St. Lucia's Eve we had a great storm, and run before the wind with the foresail very low. And on this course we lose Nicolla Coelho. And on this day in the morning, when it came to sunset, they saw him from the top four or five legoas astern of us. And it appeared to us that he had seen us; we made signal lights and lay to. And as the first watch was ending he came to us, not because he had seen us during the day, but because the wind was from the side and he could not do otherwise than come into our waters."

Barros has thus recorded the tempestuous effect. As this was the first storm the sailors had experienced in these unknown seas and climes, they were so distracted that they did nothing but call upon God, thinking more of repenting of their sins than of managing the sails for the shadow of death was over everything.

Lastly Osorius publishing in 1571 when as Dr. Ravenstein admits, he cannot have seen Correa's MS. provided us with independent testimony. His summary connects insubordination with unfavourable conditions before rounding the Cape:

"Now on that occasion the manliness of Gama shone forth. The billows were tremendous....as always in that region at the fixed times in which the sun occupies the northern quarter....for the ships were so tossed about that they at one time appeared to touch the clouds, at another time to be cast down to the recesses of a deep

whirlpool....Since he with steadfast courage refused their demands, many conspired to slay him. Becoming aware of this, through the information of his brother Paulus, by very great watchfulness, Gama avoided the snare and put the masters (master and pilot of the St. Gabriel, according to Correa) in irons, and he himself performed the function of chief pilot. At length....on the 20th of November, he arrived at the end of the promontory; with incredible delight they began to alter their course."

CHAPTER VIII.

*And now, escaped the fury of the storm,
 New danger threatens in a various form
 Though fresh the breeze the swelling canvas swelled,
 A current's headlong sweep our prows with held:
 The rapid force impressed on every keel,
 Backward, o'erpower'd, our rolling vessels reel.*

Lus. Mickle p. 155.

*Disease assail'd my crews—such fell disease,
 And loathsome, as till then I ne'er beheld—
 Who would believe, that saw not how in these
 The livid gums with growth prodigious swell'd,
 Breathing infection that depraved the breeze!
 Alas how many a gallant life was quell'd,
 How many a proud and noble form laid low
 On yonder shore, and by so vile a foe!*

Lus. V. 81, 82, Quillman.

WE ARE ABOUT TO ENTER upon a fresh stage of our story. Early avoidance of the usual coast route helped not merely to keep the Adventurers in good health, but to give confidence for further incursions into the unknown. And if they have recently been experiencing a full share of the peculiar perils of these southern seas, courage has been again stiffened for their role as Discoverers. At any rate there is a new note discernible even in the hitherto demonstrative diary,* something like a note

*Perestrello's careful survey taken in 1575 indicates, says Dr. Ravenstein, "His substantial agreement with this Roteiro" (pp. 14-15).

of personal triumph on the part of a chief pilot at having exceeded the limits reached by that other expedition *cujus pars fuit!* ..

The storm has abated, and they are again able to make towards land which is sighted on the morning of Friday, December 5th, near some rocky, but *low-lying* islets (Ilnios Chaos), now called Bird Islands, which, lie towards the western end of Algoa Bay, 30 miles beyond the Island da Cruz. It would appear from our Roteiro that whether or not Diaz erected a pillar on this island, in his outward voyage, his furthest pillar was placed some ten miles further on than Bird Islands at Cape Padrone of our maps.

Having passed this point on Saturday they ran along the coast and being at no distance from the shore employed their leisure in cheerful contemplation of the ever improving aspect of the country side—charming, well wooded. with larger trees and abounding in cattle.

That night they lay to, conscious of deserving a rest “for” says the Diarist, recording it may be the exact words of D’Alenquer, “we were just on a level with the Rio do Infante which was the last land that Bartholomew Diaz discovered.” Congratulations seem to have been general as if already this record was beaten: “all were well pleased that they had passed beyond the point discovered by Bartholomew Diaz and Lopey Infante (De G.). On Sunday they were again coasting, but at time of evening service, a change of wind caused them to stand out to sea. They kept tacking landward and seaward again until near sunset on Tuesday (Dec. 19 when the wind veered round to the west. They lay to for the night, in order that next day they might ascertain their true position. At ten o’clock next morning they made straight for land and found themselves once again at Cross Island.

Castanheda suggests that they took their ease along the coast, for they were on the look-out for such objects as might divert and charm their senses. But the serious minded one records with painful precision an 'ominous' circumstance, "on the Saturday following we passed by the East pillar and as we went along the coast, so two men on land set themselves to run along the shore in the direction contrary to ours" (RO.) and found themselves opposite an island which D'Alenquer had last seen in company with, B. Diaz! The man before the mast was dumfounded when he realised the position nor *would he* be reassured by the statement of the man at the look-out that they were some 230 geographical miles south westward of their reckoning!

A full explanation of the set back is nowadays not far to seek. The mighty Agulhas Current has for its origin an overflowing of the warm waters of the South Indian Ocean. This stream is divided by the island of Madagascar, but reuniting near Delagoa Bay to form an enormous body of water and warmer by some 8 degrees than the ocean on either side which flows south westward and skirts our coasts at from 3 to about 120 miles off, attaining hereabouts (from P. Natal to Lat. 23° S.) a speed of between 3 to 4 miles an hour, its greatest strength being near the edge of the Agulhas Bank.

Now on the previous Saturday and Sunday our sailors had been gliding along merrily, confidently hugging the coasts though not perhaps without danger owing to an inward set of the counter-currents. From Sunday night when they tacked seaward, till just before sunset on Tuesday they had against them both wind and current. The latter would also be against them during the night when they imagined themselves stationary. The wind is now favourable—it is a strong wind and apt to raise a boisterous sea in opposition to the current. In a chastened spirit, equally removed from boasting and

faint-heartedness, our diarist records their renewal of the struggle! "That very day we followed the track we had already followed, with a strong stern wind, which lasted us three or four days so that we broke through the currents by reason of which we had great fear of not being suffered to attain our desires. From that day God willed in His pity (*misericordia*) that we should go forward and not backward. May it please Him that it be so alway!"

Camoens records in classic style how a Force that frustrated Diaz was now robbed of victory by storm wind from the South;

Notus insulted, as it would appear,
That Ocean in his way such hindrance threw,
Gave strength to all his blasts so angrily,
We stemmed the mighty current of the sea.

Lus. V. 67.

It was proposed by Durban folk to build a clock tower and further to hold high festival on Xmas Day 1889 to celebrate the Da Gamas' supposed landing in Natal for which event, as Mr. R. S. Whiteway pointed out at that time, 'not only is there no proof, but the authorities negatived the idea.'

Barros says: 'On the feast of the Nativity they passed the coast of Natal to which they gave its name'; 'The Diarist says: 'By Xmas Day, the 25th of December, we had discovered 70 legoas of coast'—which means rather more than 230 miles beyond the Rio Infante—Diaz furthest point. A modern writer suggests that on this day they supped as festively as the simplicity and poverty of their supplies would permit, not that they had reason to apprehend a danger of shortage or to prevent their wine ration of 1½ pints being added to on this or any other Church Festival. "After suffering an injury to the mast of the St. Raphael we discovered it had sprung a couple of yards from the top." Here was no question

of bringing the fleet to land for the diarist expressly says that it was patched temporarily in expectation of soon reaching a sheltered port. Three days later they were anchored off a point identified by Dr. Ravenstein and shown in Dr. Hamy's map of 1502 as 'Pescarias' the Fisheries.

Here they were successful in the fishing which was a recognised means of varying their menu without drawing upon the ships' stores. The breaking of the St. Raphael's mooring rope with consequent loss of anchor and their putting far out to sea suggest further trouble from treacherous currents. "We now remained so long without touching any point, that drinking water began to fail us, and our food had to be cooked with salt water. Our daily ration was reduced to a quartilho i.e. three fourths of a pint."

The search for a natural harbour was not as yet successful; indeed they came in for a rather trying experience. On January 11th, they anchored opposite '*Rio Cobre*, a *small* river'; perhaps the Zavora, between the Limpopo and the Cape of Strong Currents (Corrientes). During a stay of five days they proceeded with the principal business of taking in water which the natives conveyed to the ships' boats, but so slowly that at the end of that time they had not a full supply. Meanwhile the ships were riding at anchor exposed to the swell of the sea.

This visit is of unique interest as the first recorded meeting between the Portuguese and the primitive Kaffir and Bantu people. But we are again made conscious that our Diarist is not an ethnographical expert! It affords us no clue as to whether the natives were of the pure Bantu type such as are found west of the Kalahari and such as, at a much later date migrated from the Interior to the coast north of Cape Corrientes; with thick projecting

lips, broad flat noses and narrow foreheads suggestive of the negro. In the absence of positive evidence we may suppose that their kindliness was reflected in a comeliness of person, and, though perhaps boasting little or no mixture of Asiatic blood, attained to the higher Bantu standard set forth by Dr. Theal, (*Porte: in South Africa*), their features being more regular and refined, their bodies large without corpulence, their limbs muscular and of perfect symmetry.

That the people here are tall is the sole remark vouchsafed by our Diarist under this heading. At the next stopping place his more personal observation reports them 'black and well made....the young women are good looking.' De Goes says that some were 'tawnier;' similarly Barros notes the people "of this river (*Rio dos bons signaes*) though they were of the same colour and hair as the others, had among them some who were yellow and appeared to be half breeds of Moors and negroes" or as we should say of Arabs and Kaffirs. But in depicting these newly discovered lands the two word painters are apt to bedaub the original sketch!

The diarist's notes concerning the arms and clothing of the Rio Cobre natives suggest indigenous rather than imported culture. Their weapons include long bows and arrows and spears with iron blades. Tin is seen on the hilts of their daggers, the sheaths of which are ivory—according to De Goes the daggers are made of pewter! Linen cloth is prized, copper being freely given in exchange for shirts. Copper ornaments are worn on legs and arms and in their twisted hair. Burton suggests that the tin may have been "zinc, still carried to the coast by Arab traders." But whereas this strip of land would be avoided by Arab dhows by reason of baffling currents and absence of harbours, behind it is a highly metaliferous region where, in addition to gold, iron copper and tin were smelted. Articles made from these

last three metals might well be supplied to our simple folk by the inland Makulangas, or their predecessors. In regard to the prizing of 'linen cloth' it is noteworthy that these same up country kinsmen were in early times manufacturers of a coarse kind of cloth. In the XVIIth century, traders to the not far distant *Reynos dos Regos** (at Delagoa Bay,) in return for 'Caffirs or slaves' supplied 'Genoa linen, red cotton, coarse and painted cloths.... and salt.' (Riebeek, Letters Despatched Vol. 1.) The diarist mentions that here, at Rio Cobre, "they have large calabashes in which they carry sea-water inland, where they pour it into pits to obtain the salt."

Communication can only have been carried on by signs, though we are reminded that Martin Affonso the sailor, had been a long time at Manicongo and spoke many languages of barbarisms (Ba.) he, *with one other*, having been ordered to land, comes to a better understanding than had been possible at St. Bras, even reporting that "their chief bids his visitors welcome to everything in his country of which they may stand in need, "at least" adds the diarist rather sceptically, "this is how Martin Affonso understood them;" De Goes explains quite seriously that "some of them must have been strangers from some part of Guinea!" Presently Affonso, reading a safe conduct in the eyes of these unsophisticated Blacks, will take a companion and set out to spend the night with them. Amid much hand-clapping the chief parades in a Moorish cap, jacket, red pantaloons and a bracelet. This Moorish cap has been compared with the Cardinal's berretta bestowed by the Pope on Dom Manuel's second son; nor, perchance were the Romans more gratified by the oriental splendour of Pompey's celebrated triumph, than are the subjects of our dusky potentate as he struts about his African village whimsically bedecked in occi-

* *i.e.* River of the Kings— Barros declares that the Fleet entered there on Twelfth Night (Jan. 6).

dental finery. But the man in authority, not content with exclaiming: 'Look what has been given to me!' be-thinks himself of an overlord and is credited (by Affonso the Imaginative) with signifying that the new court dress would be displayed before "a great chief, who appears to have been king of that country" (Ro). Later on this figure in the background would have been none other than the *Monomotapa*. The chief, himself retiring to a "house" orders his guests to be entertained in the compound or kraal of straw huts. Here they are given 'porridge of millet, which abounds in that country, and a fowl *just like those of Portugal*' the favourite comparison of an author who has no previous acquaintance with countries other than his own. It is improbable that he went ashore here, and the natural history observations would suggest itself when the natives brought fowls aboard for the chief-captain's cook. Meanwhile these two, (the only members of the crew allowed to land, so far as we know) are bearing the burden of popularity. The country is thickly peopled; it contained many petty chiefs seemingly, 'forty women to every twenty men;' visitors of both sexes keep on coming through the night. Affonso, as well as his nameless companion, is "better pleased with his reception than was Fernao Veloso with that of the other negroes," (Ba.) and their return in triumph presents a great contrast. Whether "the lord of the village sent more than 200 men with him to do him honour" (Ba.) or whether, as saith the diarist, these 200 followed to the boats out of curiosity, doubtless they gazed their fill upon the very first white man (at any rate of the gift-bearing and silent sort) to tread their shores. They did more than gaze: so "very domesticated" were these strangers and they rendered "such great service to all those of the fleet" (De G.) that this country was named *Terra da boa gente*—Land of the good people.

Here (and at the next stopping place) two went ashore very different guests viz.: convicts "whose sentences the

king had mitigated (to make use of them on this voyage, leaving them to the perils of it) as persons to whom he was showing favour and mercy in prolonging their lives in whatever manner this was done." They were to collect all sorts of information and the chief captain appointed "a time for them to be in the same place that he might pick them up on the return voyage." This appointment Vasco could not keep! (G.)

As soon as the wind favoured, our voyagers were off and according to Barros, they sailed by Cape Corrientes at night, crossing unconsciously the dividing line between savage South Africa and the hybrid states which are more and more permeated by oriental culture. For as Bojador, that great *Outstretcher* in the North West, set a limit to the seal trade of the Moors, so this south eastern Cape of the *Currents* checked Arab cruising.

Another long spell at sea such as had caused the fleet to miss Delagoa Bay, took them beyond Sofala and the same historian offers to explain how this happened: 'The coast turns inward so far after it (Cabo das Correntes) is passed that Vasco da Gama feared the waters would draw him in and that it was some deep bay from which he would not be able to get out.'—Had he in mind tales of the jinn-haunted waters to the south or Sinbad the Sailor's *Magnet Mountain* which attracted so fatally the Ocean Currents? Nay, even the learned spoke seriously of Indian and Chinese mountains that 'pulled out the bolts and nails of passing ships which then fell to pieces and were lost'! (Ra 129n. 3) Sernigi's 1st Letter says that the Calicut spice vessels are flat-bottomed, some being built without any nails or iron, for they have to pass the 'loadstone' (see ch. IX. p. 128 and Ra. p. 129)—"This fear made them so cautious in keeping far off the shore that he passed, without seeing it, the settlement of Sofala, so celebrated in those parts because of the quantity of gold which the Moors there procure

in commerce from the negroes, as he afterwards learned"—the last words may refer to information obtained by Covilham at Sofala.

By Monday, they were again searching the coast for a harbour. On Wednesday night the little *Berrio* explored in advance a river mouth of which the low and marshy banks were shaded by a rank overgrowth of vegetation. This has been identified with the Kiliman, most northerly branch of Zambesi delta. The other ships entered on the following night and stayed here for one calendar month. The first thought was to obtain water from the native village, there the ships were beached and careened, much scraping and caulking and tarring were needed for they were very dirty; lastly the *St. Raphael's* mast was duly repaired.

The good looking Blacks, were naked except for cotton cloths round their loins whilst their chief men (senhores) were distinguished by larger cotton cloths, and their women wearing pieces of twisted tin in their lips which were pierced in three places. They came down river, bringing in Almadias an abundance of fruit, the produce of huge trees, were delighted with the white man's company, joyfully climbed the ship's rigging, gleefully accepted his most trumpery gifts, and showed in everyway a childlike confidence.

In this picture of utter simplicity there are touches by more than one hand. But here, as at *Rio Cobre* accounts given of the natives by Goes and by Barros have the *Roteiro* for their common source. Their free handling in dealing with the original may be further shewn in connection with a visit during which, intercourse being virtually limited to signs, certain favourable indications give rise to the name *Rio dos bons signaes* (river of good tokens) or *di bon signale* (see Dr. Hamy's map, 1502):

"After we had been here two or three days there came to see us two chief men (senhores) of this land, who were so haughty that they valued nothing we gave them. One of these wore a *touca* put on the head with the borders worked in silk, and the other wore a cap (*carapuça*) of green satin. Moreover a young man came in their company who, as they stated, by signs (*acenavam*) was from another, a far-off land and said he had already seen big ships like those which we brought. At which tokens (*signaes*) we rejoiced greatly, for it appeared to us that we were about to arrive where we fain would be. And these gentlemen (*fidalgos*) caused some huts of leafy branches (*ramadas*) to be made on the river bank opposite the ships. In these they stayed about seven days and thence they sent daily to the ships to sell cloths which bore marks of red ocre. And when they had had enough of being there, they betook themselves in **Almadias* to the upper river." (Ro.).

When reproducing this incident of the youthful stranger Goes slips in a negative: "By signs and by a few words of Arabic which he could speak our countrymen gathered that his residence was *not* far from this place, and that ships as large as ours came there." According to Barros the natives tell how "towards the rising of the sun there were white men who navigated in vessels like theirs, which they had seen go up and down that coast." He also brings on the scene Fernão Martins; this sailor much in evidence at Mozambique, is here made to speak 'a few words of Arabic' to some of the natives, "but none

* Word of Moorish origin (*el maziya*). Properly it means a raft, but it is generally used of canoes or like small boats on the East African and Malabar coasts. See *Burton* IV, p. 577 quoted by Rav. & Yule's Glossary. Varthema's *Almedia* is a kind of small bark which is all of one piece! He describes others that go with sail or oar and so narrow that 2 cannot sit side by side, sharp at both ends and swifter than any gully *brigantim*. *Var.* p. 154.

of our people could understand *their* language." He does not refer to a visit by grandees or distinguish head men from other "negroes." Most of his natives, who are dressed in accordance with Mozambique fashion, wear either *capuça* or *touca*—by the way Burton declares that the latter is no turban, but another kind of cap. On the other hand Goes doubles the number of "chief men" and they seem to be intent upon pleasure rather than profit (see original of Barros) accordingly there is no mention of trading with coarse linen cloth, the usual medium of exchange in these parts. They are entertained in the best manner possible on board, and whereas (except of longer and larger strips around their loins) the dress of these "persons of quality" was as scanty as that of commoners. Vasco supplied deficiencies by ordering that they should be clothed with coloured silk cloth. Lastly Goes uses terms practically identical with our diarist's in regard to the nearness of the goal, but one translator makes him say that in "turban with embroidery and silk tassels" and in "green satin cap" his countrymen saw "a sign that they had already reached India!"

Whilst Camoens sings "the brave captain whom Fortune ever favours," the moralist perceives bitter mingled with sweet in Her cup. Such were the auspices that Vasco may with his sanguine temperament have imagined favourable winds and hospitable peoples would henceforth help him and his along a pleasure-strewn path (Coel); but if any of our heroes think too highly of themselves, they are about to be humbled in a manner hitherto unknown.

The bewildering calamity which even now overtakes them is by some attributed to the result of over indulgence in unnamed tropical delicacies 'that fruit which was very delicious to eat,' whilst others vaguely accounted for the 'different sicknesses' by 'the climate of that region....with its thick and pernicious vapours.' Mat-

ters were certainly made worse by arriving just when and where the white man is peculiarly liable to fever attacks. The sun being at its highest, the rains torrential, the coast marshy and, in particular, the Zambesi delta flooded with decaying vegetation—these conditions suggest a rallying ground for germs hostile to every new comer. But without a doubt we have here and on their return voyage across the Arabian sea, the first detailed account of Scurvy,* which was to become all too familiar in connection with the Cape Route to India. The symptoms include swollen feet and hands; the flesh of the gums growing over the teeth (Ro.) as it swelled it decayed so that they cut it away like dead flesh, a most pitiful thing to see (B). Castanheda speaks of the stench in the mouth and the great pain whilst another tells of the teeth falling out. On the second occasion the diarist adds that swelling of the legs and other parts of the body, spread until the sufferer died without exhibiting symptoms of any disease. By and bye men learn to connect the scourge with eating meat and stale fish and biscuits (B). For months past the lot of the common folk had been exceptionally hard. Storm and mutiny apart, there would be sore grumbling over shortness of drinking water and brine-cooked victuals. ‘Very dirty,’ inside as well as out, must the ships have become for lack of sheltered port; very lively must it have been in the lower compartments of the fore-castle when extra ‘hands’ from the provision ship were huddled there at night, amongst a select company of artificers, sailors, soldiers and *degradadors*! In a much later enquiry** concerning the disease and its allies, similar stress is laid upon deterioration of stores—the daily pot food becoming musty in the hold, beer likewise gone sour. Two centuries could not set right the faulty accommodation of

* Look up *Portuguese-Barros* 14 ‘Some died mostly from Scurvy; the greater part of the sickness was Erysipelas.’

** *Precis of Archives, Cape of Good Hope. Letters Despatched* 1696, p. 3.

the men's quarters, where, in sodden clothes and in 'stinking atmosphere,' are to be found 'deserters afflicted with many diseases.' A longer voyage, often by the 'northern route' round Scotland will make matters worse for the Dutch, ships being known to arrive off Cape Town with a large part of their compliment dead or entirely disabled and the remainder too weak to put into harbour without help from the shore!

"Our people suffered considerable hardships from the sickness which attacked them"—At Kiliman estuary the deaths numbered thirty—"All were in dismay, which would have been greater if it had not been for Paulo da Gama who was of such a good disposition that he visited them all, night and day, consoling and nursing them, and liberally dividing with them those things necessary for invalids which he carried for his personal use." (Ca.)

Thanks are due to the historian for having preserved this tradition of Paulo as a ministering angel, a true S. Raphael to those nearing their journey's end. (**) We are not to think of our hero as alone in his labours. True there was no united religious observance at this particular place if Castanheda, in reference to the assembling of the ship's companies, to hear mass on the island of St. Jorge, is right in saying they had not been to confession and had not heard communion since leaving Lisbon. But this does not negative the idea of ghostly comfort to the dying, and the manner in which Paulo would promote such ministration may be inferred from a later injunction issued by Manoel. All means of recovery having been exhausted each captain of a ship is directed to make it a

**A homelier comparison might be made with the Dutch *Zickentrooster*, who by sea and land exercised his subordinate office as a layman. The quotation which follows in the text is fr. "Alguns Documentos," p. 180. Instructions to Fernas as Soares, captain of the Armada that went to India in 1507.

matter of disinterested goodness and loyalty to afford sufferers an early opportunity to be confessed and to make their wills 'for the disburdening of their conscience'. Correa says that each ship had its own priest; two are known to us by name. Pedro de Covilho, chaplain of the fleet and father confessor, seemingly did not live to return. Proof of his earnestness survives in the legend that he was the first, after St. Thomas, to say mass and preach in India also that he was 'speared whilst expounding the doctrines of the Trinity.' Another clergyman was Correa's João Figueiro of the *S. Gabriel*; his diary (see p. 260) by the way, would be a more likely record of Paulo's unselfishness than one written on board the *St. Raphael* and liable to her captain's official recension!

As regards more material help Camoens laments that in place of competent physician (*medico astuto*) and able surgeon (*cirurgiao subtil*) there were but semi-proficients (*nesto offiero instructo*) for operations on which the one chance of life depended. (Lus. V. 82—) Doubtless these barber surgeons and the dispensers of apothecaries' medicaments, of preserves and sweet-scented waters, would appreciate additions to their patients' dietary, even whilst they protested the giver's need to be almost as great-foreseeing how a lack of 'things necessary for invalids' might shorten Paulo's own life.

"During that time with the assistance of the natives, Vasco's convalescents being unequal to extra toil, "he set up a landmark" (Ba.). Thus the information that in the midst of suffering had "filled them all with great joy explains not only "the river of good omens," but also the choice of locality for this monument "which they named the pillar of *S. Raphael*, and that because he (saint or ship) carried it." (*).

*These last words are from the *Roteiro* Goes regards the pillar as a commemoration. It appears in Dr. Harvey's and in Canerio's maps of 1502, but is not traceable further. The king himself had ordered these pillars to be named after *St. Raphael* and *Gabriel* and *Santa Maria*.

‘Two great dangers,’ are here connected with this unlucky vessel.

Before leaving the river “Vasco da Gama, being on board the ship of his brother Paulo da Gama, going in a small boat with only two sailors to row it, and clinging with his hands to the chain plates whilst he was speaking to him, there came a large wave and swept the boat from under him, so that he and the sailors were only saved by clinging to the chains until they could be rescued. The second danger was suffered by the same ship on the day they set out, which was the 24th of February; when crossing the bar of the river, she was stranded on a sand-bank, where she was like to have remained for ever, but the tide coming in, carried her out of danger.” (Ba.).

Most of our early visitors, occupied with present dangers and coming triumphs, pay little regard to South Africa’s intrinsic beauty and are wholly unimpressed by the charms of novelty in her primitive peoples. Nay, is not their form positively repellent except in a garb of borrowed culture?

“The entering of this river (of good signs) after they had seen the heathen who dwelt upon its banks was a great encouragement to all, for they were very downcast at having travelled so far without finding any but barbarous negroes like those of Guinea, near Portugal” (Ba.). Here we have also the attitude of the historian writing for a nation whose gaze is already fixed upon the glory in the East. In like manner the author of the *Lusiads* contrasts his law-abiding Europe with lawless Africa, untaught and wholly bestial (*inculta e toda de bruteza*) martyrising its would-be instructor from Portugal. On the other hand our simple minded diarist takes pleasure in his daily surroundings and records how “this people enjoyed themselves hugely in our company—*folgavam muito commosco*”—this jovial phrase denotes leisure for mutual diversion, merry making frolic.

But the scene is shifting. For a people 'black and well shaped' we exchange at the next calling place a people 'ruddy and well shaped' speaking as 'Moors' and their garments in keeping with those 'of the sect of Mafamede.' This voyage now takes on the character of adventure in the Orient where the civilisation encountered is already so familiar to Europeans that henceforth our chief interest will be in such incidents as bring into relief the personality of the adventurers themselves.

CHAPTER IX.

Mocambique to Melindi.

*Deeming the islands all unpeopled were;
 To steer his onward course he therefore sought
 Lo! in company there now appear!
 A number of small boats which toward the fleet,
 As from the Island next the mainland, steer,
 Cutting long ocean with wide spreading sheet;
 The crews are all alive; and as they near,
 Blind to all else, the boats delighted greet:
 "What race," they say, "are these?" all wondering,
 "What law, what customs have they, and what King?"*
 Lus. I. 44, 45. Aubertin.

THE EBULLITION OF FEELING which accompanied a New Beginning is variously expressed by the *Lusiads*, by the *Diary*, and by Castanheda's history. Our poet feels at liberty to heighten the effect by suggesting that Vasco had well nigh passed what he took for a group of uninhabited islands! The painstaking diarist is primarily concerned with topographical detail, but does not fail to depict his leaders' joy at progress achieved: On Thursday, which was the first day of the month of March, in the evening, we had sight of the islands and mainland—of these anon. As it was late we again stood out to sea and lay to till morning. We approached the land which I am now to describe."

On Friday morning Nycollao Coelho, in entering the bay, mistook the channel and came upon a shoal and in tacking towards the other ships that came behind they perceived some sailing boats approaching from the village

of that island; some of these are almadias, others (*barcos a Velha*, see p. 26 Rav.) carry sails of unaccustomed appearance:

“Mats were the wings wherewith they lightly flew,
From certain palm-fronds wove by cunning hand.”

Coelho is off “with delight to salute the chief captain and his brother.” Castanheda is more dramatic: “Our men who were with Nicholas Coelho gave a loud shout of joy at the sight of the vessels and went to salute Vasco da Gama, Nicholas Coelho saying: “What think you sir, are not these of a different nation?” “He joyfully answered that they would stand no further to sea, but cast anchor at the island from which the vessels came, to learn what land it was and whether the people could give them any information concerning India.”

Some of the dark-skinned, well built natives—Swahili or half caste, came aboard confidently. Their dress was of linen or cotton stuff having parti-coloured stripes, they wore toucas with borders of silk embroidered in gold, had Moorish swords girt about them and bucklers on their arms. Their greeting was in Arabic which they all spoke and, after taking their fill of whatever our own men ate and drank, went away well pleased. According to Goes it was a Fruit Banquet and, whereas the guests believed that we were even as they, our Captains instantly knew them to be “Moors.” In the diary the Captains are of opinion that the harbour should be entered for the express purpose of testing their behaviour. To minimise risk the *Berrio* must go forward and take soundings on the bar. The diarist who chanced to be aboard tells of a second accident. As they were about to enter she struck against the point of the island, but rebounded into deep water. Suitable anchorage was found about two bowshots from the town. Owing to the difficulties of entry which prevented the others from following that day, Nicholas Coelho was now in a position, not for the last time, to do the

honours of the fleet. Presently the lord of this place *rrey de Măcobique*, seique, sheikh, shafh or “senhor, whom they called Colytam (sultan), who was like a viceroy”—as the vassal of the king of Kilwa is variously called, came aboard with fitting retinue. His highness did not elect to stay long, for there was no interpreter at hand. Coelho was anxious to show respect, but of his compliment, viz.: a scarlet hood, “the sultan made small account.” In reply he was accommodated with black beads which the great man carried in his hand as a safeguard or charm (por seguro). He asked for his host’s long boat to return in. Coelho gave it “and some of our men went with him,” whom the sultan took to his brother “and he entertained them.” (C.) And he (? or his brother) sent back what our sturdy seaman would appreciate more than the rosary, a jar of bruised dates made into a preserve with cloves and cinnamon. Like delicacies for the chief captain were accompanied by a request that he too might be visited.

Another account mentions a present of cocoa nuts, fowls and a sheep, doubtless sent direct to the *St. Gabriel* as a foretaste of good cheer to come awaiting both captain and crew.

Hat’s, hawks’ trappings, marlotas (short silken or woollen dresses of Persian style), red cloaks, corals, brass basins and other knicknacks. Such were the gifts sent on shore to negotiate terms; but they are viewed askance even whilst an oriental hint is being dropped as to the manner in which favour may be secured; said “the sultan” to the bearers: “What is the use of them, and why didn’t they send me scarlet cloth, which is what I wanted?” Nevertheless Vasco may still expect the honour of a visit.

The fleet is now bedecked with flags; the sick being huddled out of sight, stalwarts clad in finery are to the fore, though weapons must be carried secretly. The vice-

roy's approach is announced by sound of horns and instrumental music. His many followers are in silks arrayed. Himself a stately personage in gala attire—he seems to have dazzled reporters. His white Turkish tunic, open in the body, reached to the ankles; over it was a robe of Mecca velvet. His “silk velvet” headdress, many coloured and gold threaded, was a *touca* (a kind of cap). At the waist he wore a scimitar inset with costly stones. On his feet were sandals or slippers of silk or of velvet. This *Arabian Nights* figure was received by the chief captain on his quarter deck and escorted between two rows of men-at-arms under a suitable awning. Preserves and European wines were produced at command. “Of juice which Bacchus planted, forth they poured glass goblets full” the retinue partaking without scruple.

Conversation opened by Vasco's explaining that scarlet cloth was not sent because there was none to send, he having with him only things to be bartered for provisions in case of necessity. The governor desired to hear whether our adventurers hailed from Turkey, whose inhabitants were understood to make use of ships differing widely in their construction from those of India. Here upon the chief Captain, removing his berretta, made a courtly bow (as if craving his brother Paulo's permission to speak), and replied that “he was not from Turkey but from a great kingdom adjoining it.” According to Castanheda, the captain added proudly that he on whose business they were now passing over to India was the greatest Christian king in all the world. But the fateful discovery that these strangers were not orthodox Mohammedans may with more likelihood be attributed to the reply to the governor's request to see the books of the law which Vasco professed: “Books of the law, he had not with him, having no need for them at sea.” Such evasiveness may even have started the report that our *da Gamas* were no better than robbers on the high

seas! If we are to accept Correa's account, either Vasco or his interpreter must have been heated with wine when, in words meant to deceive (*palavras artificiosas*) he explained that the fleet now at anchor was but the least part of a powerful Armada that two years previously had set forth from the great kingdom and that the other ships, separated from him in a storm, contained gold and silver with which he had intended to traffic for spices. (Cp. Chap. 'Nearing the Goal.')

The governor having been shown by request "the bows and other arms" (Ro) expressed great wonder at "some cuirasses" and at the shooting by cross-bows (Ca.), a formidable weapon in which the bow was fixed transversely upon a stock and, in the more elaborate forms, was of such stiffness as to require a mechanism for bending it. This intelligent onlooker was rightly surprised at a device whereby the blow delivered was independent of the strength of a man's arm; in other words the puniest in the strangers' band was seen to be on a level with the mightiest. Camoens adds a display of breast-plates brilliant, shields with emblazonries all different, spikes and sharp-pointed halberds .

Did the exhibits include any kind of portable firearm? Camoens has been accused of an anachronism for enumerating "springards of fine steel" in face of Correa's statement that, during hostilities shortly to ensue the ships' boats carried only bestas—for *springards had not yet come in*. Doubtless Correa followed Barros who said that both weapons were used on this occasion whilst Barros himself was trying to interpret the diarist's mention of "the boats armed and bombards in their poops." Our poet has his own explanation of any shortcomings in the Show—humanitarian motives restrain heroic Vasco from scaring timid folk. Therefore his gunners may not prime the dread inspiring mortars (*bombardas temerosas*) "*porque ainda n'este tempo não havia espingardas*." Burton calls the springards "a wall-piece or one-

pounder matchlock." L. Coelho (*Varoes Illus.* II. p. 90) who cites Correa (*Lendas* I., p. i., c. XII., p. 40) and Barros (*Decad.* I. Liv. iv., c. iv.) while noting the hand guns of the period as clumsy and slow in action, thinks they would be used by 'some at least of the soldiers in Vasco's fleet!' But fireworks of a sort (*bombas de fogo*) and highly scented powder-pots (*panellas sulphureas, tão damnosas*) enliven proceedings.

Though as yet there was no open rupture, "When they had learnt that we were Christians they enjoined that we should be seized and killed by treachery; however, the pilot whom we took with us discovered to us all they enjoined against us if it could be put into practice. (Ro.) Meanwhile the Portuguese feelings, equally restrained, were of a different order: hearing of Sofala gold trade, of traffic across the Arabian sea and that India was a matter of 900 leagues' sailing, "all privately offered thanks to God for the great mercy he had shown them." (Go.).

The diarist mentions as a sort of discovery, named but once and that not yet, "a mariner the captain carried (in the *S. Gabriel*), who had formerly been a captive of the Moors and therefore understood those things we found here. (Go.) The description is supplemented by Correa whose "African slave, an acute man (*homem de subtil entendimento*), was acquainted with Moorish, but did not speak it; in Hebrew and Arabic he could converse." Similarly Camoens: "The Arabian tongue which *they* talk ill Fernao Martins fully comprehends" * This is the *Fernam Martinz* whom at a later crisis we are to find enjoying his commander's confidence, and

* The poet here follows Goes (cp. p. 108, ch. VIII.) and is alluding to the mixed lingo of the *Ethiopes* at *Rio dos bons signals* (Lus. V. 76—78).

Correa calls him Joao Martins and he is perhaps identical with Joao Nunez, a *New Christian* (i.e. forcibly converted Jew) and *degradado* who was landed at Calcut and knew "a little Arabic and Hebrew." Joao Machado, (ch. III., p. 36) had also a slight acquaintance with the former language.

he will rise to positions of trust in India. Even now is greatness thrust upon him, as intermediary between West and East.

Four coasting vessels of *White Moors* (i.e pure Arabs) were at this time in port. Martins interprets their owners as saying the cargoes consisted of "gold, silver and cloth and cloves and pepper and ginger and silver rings, with many pearls and seed-pearl and rubies." All these treasures, except the first named, the Arabs brought to the people of this land, who being themselves merchants trafficked therewith. Dreading unequal bargains our crafty middleman fain would fix the interlopers' attention upon an Eastern goal; it is confided to the sailor that "further on where we were going to.....the stones and seed pearls and spicery were in such quantity that it was not necessary to buy them, on the contrary they were to be gathered by the basketful."

From the same source information was gathered as to the next stages of their journey—numerous shoals were to be avoided, great cities to be looked for.

Moreover, "We should come across an island in which part were Moors and part Christians, which Christians were at war with the Moors, and in that island were great riches:" (Ro.). (The reference is to Quilwa Kilwa), whose sultan at this time is said to have been overlord of the coast southward as far as Sofala.)

"They told besides that Prester John was near that place and that he had many cities along the sea, and that their inhabitants were great merchants and had great ships, but Prester John was far inland, and that they could not go thither except on camels. The same Moors brought hither two Christian Indians, captives. These things and many others these same Moors related, of which we were

so glad that we cried for joy and asked God that he might be pleased to give us health to the end we might see that for which we all longed. (Ro.)

Now in this sailor version of traders' talk we have the first hint of confidence between the Hindus and Christians. Of course the diarist himself (ever ready to find a likeness to what he had known and loved at home) is convinced of their identity, and few would be disposed to contradict.* Indeed the medieval belief that Christianity was widely accepted in the East survives in a crude form amongst our early explorers, for whom the civilised world consists of co-religionists, Jews and Mohammedans.)

Barros speaks of the two Indians as Abyssinians from the country of Prester John, saying that on seeing the *St. Gabriel* figure-head they knelt to worship. This, "would be more likely to happen with Hindus, for Abyssinian Christians whatever their shortcomings, do not worship images" (Ra.)

With like simplicity Faria y Sousa (Mickle p. 34 n. 2) says "There came three Ethiopians on board who, seeing *St. Gabriel* painted on the poop, fell on their knees in token of their Christianity, which had been preached to them in the primitive times, though now corrupted." The incident is supposed to have taken place when the *Da Gamas* lay at anchor off *St. Jorge*. The actual hostilities took place in connection with a pilot whose home was here. Two fully armed launches, the one containing *Vasco* and the other *Nicholas Coelho*, went in advance to seek out the said pilot. They were encountered by five or six boatfuls (*barcas*) likewise well equipped—with bows, long-bows and shields or bucklers. Their crews signalled the Portuguese to return to

* See (Calicut Goal) ch. XII. and notes end of chapter.

Mozambique. Hereupon Vasco, securing the other pilot whom he had with him, ordered the bombards to fire. The Arabs at once took to flight and escaped before Paulo could come up with them in the *Berrio*.

Here the diarist informs us that the ships náóos) of this country are large (*grandes*) and decked. They are without nails and held together by coir rope, as are the *barcos* which, as we have just seen, sometimes carry sails. Santos (ch. XIV.) says the vessels plying along these coasts are of wood cut by *Moors* from the forests; they are railed with wooden pins and fastened with coir cord of which also cordage and cables are made. There are three sizes, the largest being *navetes* (Port. for little ships) the sails are mats made from palm and wild date trees. But Varthema's Calicut ships were well pitched, had an immense quantity of iron nails and cotton sails: he had not, it would seem, even heard of the loadstone theory (see Ch. VIII., p. 111).

To commemorate an easy victory the islets are named by Vasco from that one Saint in the calendar whose combative but not wholly creditable career he can hope to imitate; indeed later on our hero-in-chief will prove expert at twisting the dragon's tail.

The islanders themselves were of a harmless, even helpful disposition. It appeared safe the following day to celebrate public mass (see also p. 116, Ch. VIII.) in their midst, beneath a lofty grove of trees. And on Monday the departing fleet had on board "many fowls and many goats and pigeons which we obtained here in exchange for some little yellow glass beads."

Barros in order to justify this early resort to arms, interpolates a later challenge by Vasco concerning the seaman's elementary right to Wood and Water. The fight is made to take place before departure from Mozambique harbour which measure follows consultation between captains and pilots. Moreover the solemnities

at St. Jorge form the prelude to a supposed final plunge across the Eastern Ocean, sails being trimmed afresh and a course set for the Malabar coast.

Our diarist's matter-of-fact narrative gives no hint of bitterness added to their cup through the frustrating of a premature attempt. Over twenty leagues of progress on Monday had taken them, not out to sea but, within recognition distance of elmlike trees fringing a cape and a mountain background. Two days' calm with a night breeze at sea from the East and a strong adverse current account for their being found, on the Thursday morning, *four leagues abaft Moçambique* a staggering discovery, though the diarist leaves another to record how mightily it amazed even Vasco. By evening they recovered so much ground as to end where they had begun; regaining the shelter of *St. Jorge* they waited for a favouring wind. After seven days the ships re-entered Moçambique port to renew their water supply. Fondly hoping this might be accomplished without further dispute, Vasco, Coelho and the diarist himself shared the perils of a midnight search for the watering-place, but were led astray in a thicket by an ignorant or treacherous pilot; at daybreak the secret attempt was abandoned. Next afternoon a landing was effected in face of some twenty demonstrators with assegais who were easily scared by the firing of three bombards. At sunset the Portuguese returned with as much water as they had a mind to take.

Next morning "a Moor came over against the ships to say that if we desired water we should go for it, implying that such were there as would bid us turn back." His innuendo was not without effect upon the perfervid Vasco who then and there "determined that we should show him how we were able to do him a hurt if we so desired." Barros treats us to a few personalities as if between Homeric leaders, the burden of Vasco's

complaint being Moorish perfidy as shown by their connivance at the escape of pilots whom he had trustingly prepaid.

The governor's reply refused responsibility for these aliens and alleged far more serious mischief suffered in one and another port by a too confiding people, at the hands of Vasco and his runagates. Compliments ended, the mob, numbering two thousand, raised a cry, after the manner of excited Indian sailors, which resembles monkey clamour; but an accompanying hailstorm of arrows and stones is presently silenced by "the iron ball which thundering from the burning mortar flies." (Lus. X. 28 *Aub.*)

The diarist gives minute details of an ambush prepared in expectation of the Portuguese landing, but waxes disdainful on realising that it was after all a sadly one-sided affair:

"The Moors had formed palisades close set and having many planks close bound in such wise that those who were behind them could not be seen; and they were walking along the shore with bucklers, assegais, crooked poniards, and bows and slings with which they shot stones at us. But we so held them in play with the bombards that they deemed it best to quit the shore and they retired behind the palisade that they had formed, which wrought more damage than profit; and we were at it for about three hours. And there we saw two men dead, one whom we killed on the shore and another within the stockade. And when we were full weary of them we betook ourselves to the ships to dine. And they were just beginning to flee and to convey their goods in almadias to a village that is on the other side."

This careful estimate of losses inflicted swells to a more considerable action in Sousa's later report:

"He took in water by force of arms, the Blacks opposing it. And they increasing to 2,000 he fired

some cannon, which killing some, the others with the fright fled to the continent leaving many in our hands."

After dinner Paulo and his companions, including our diarist, started off again in the boats, their avowed object being to secure prisoners who might be exchanged for the two "Christian Indians and for a negro deserter." Paulo chased and took an almaidá containing four persons; here and in two others abandoned by the Moors were found:"

"a quantity of fine cotton stuffs and palm-frond baskets, and a glazed jar of butter and glass phials of (scented) waters and books of their law and a chest containing many windings of cotton and a net (?hammock) of this same cotton and many baskets full of millet. And all these goods which they laid hold of here, the chief captain gave them to those mariners who were present with him and with the other captains, except the books which he reserved to show to the King." (Ro.)

Barros, with substantially the same story to tell, is at greater pains to justify these irregular doings. He represents certain overtures as coming from a ruler who dreaded the further punishment of his perfidy, whilst Vasco deeming the time unsuitable for recrimination, accepted the peace offering of a better pilot, more capable of showing the way to India. But the new guide, "a Moor with a little boy, his son," was in reality not so pretentious; he went aboard, apparently as a volunteer, requesting to accompany the Portuguese eastward, "because he was from near Mecca and had come hither to Moçambique as pilot of a ship of that land." (Ro.). Moreover, the day before leaving, the truculent ones proceed in their armed boats to the town. Here its now timorous inhabitants only venture to talk "from behind the houses;" this talk cannot have been friendly, for at

its conclusion the bombards are trained on them once more!

Undoubtedly at this juncture our voyagers' nerves were in a high state of irritability owing to their second unexpected set back. Another two days were spent at the islets of St. George before the winds allowed a fresh start and it was not until the morning of March the 31st that "we were so far forward as the land of the Moors whence we had been turned back by the currents which were powerful."

Progress the next few days, accompanied by real or imaginary peril, finds its grimly humorous record. One of a group of islands passed on April the first is named Ilha de Acoucado—*island of the flogged one* in honour of a Moorish pilot "very roughly" chastised for a wicked hoax, in stating that they formed part of the mainland; his motive, presumably, was to wreck the Armada. "This punishment" says Sousa "instead of amending provoked him to another fraud."

On April the fourth the pilots confess that Quiloea has been over run by more than ten miles. A whole day's manoeuvring only proves the mastery of the west wind over the currents; after consultation, the captains abandon all attempt at putting back. For our commander this result exceeds the true limit of a jest; nay, his exasperation (unrecorded by the phlegmatic one!) threatens to deprive him of judgment. Convinced that Moslem trickery has ruined fair chances of playing Crusader on that island's pearl-strewn shore he is minded to apply a cruel form of torture—reserved, as a matter of fact, for a far more serious occasion.

L. Coelho considers the imputation absurd: "The desire of the miscreant pilot would be to bring the ships into that port to the end the Portuguese might all become victims of his revenge." And this usually indulgent critic denounces our hero's inconsistency: "In spite of a mind

suspicious and mistrustful, Vasco da Gama, with infantine credulity, accepted for gospel truth the treacherous words of the pilots concerning the supposed Christianity of Quiloa." To save his skin the Musselman avows that further on would be discovered Christians in abundance.

Aching bones and a consequent willingness to perish with his persecutors—such is the verdict of Barros in regard to what happened within a week of the flagellation. Two hours before dawn the *Raphael* grounded on a coral reef. Shouts warned the vessels in her wake and they stood off at a distance of a cannon shot (*tiro de bombardas*). For a while she lay high and dry. Then "by means of the boats they cast many anchors into the sea, and, when the tide rose during the day so that it was high water, the ship floated, whereat we all rejoiced mightily (*todos folgamos muito.*")' (Ro.)

When returning, the *Raphael* met her fate on these identical shoals (Ba.) her name being given to them and to the neighbouring mountains, *Serras de Sao Raphael*, "beautiful of aspect."

The diary has here no suggestion of foul play. As on the later occasion our good man's thoughts are occupied with provisions from Tamugata town distant about two leagues. Succulent oranges are being brought in two *almadias* to the stranded vessel and to the *S. Gabriel*—oranges which with grateful candour he acknowledges to be "better than those of Portugal!"

CHAPTER X.

"O valorous Captain!
 The king who rules this island
 desirous in the extreme
 To see thee as a person famed afar,
 He begs that nought of danger thou wilt dream,
 But come with all thy fleet within the bar;
 And as thy voyage laborious doth seem,
 And that thy people weak and weary are,
 He says that they may be refreshed on land,
 For Nature must, perforce, this much demand.

And if thou travellest seeking merchandise,
 Which in the gold-producing East is found,
 Cinnamon, clove and ardent spiceries,
 Or drug health-giving, excellent and sound;
 Or searchest shining precious stones where lies
 The ruby lucid, or hard diamond,
 These so abundant shalt thou take with thee
 Thy utmost wishes satisfied shall be."

Lus. II. 2-4. Aub.

BEFORE DUSK ON PALM SUNDAY EVE the fleet was anchored in the roadstead outside Mombasa port, "the finest on the whole coast of Eastern Africa." In front thereof lay many ships with banners all bedecked possibly in honour of some religious festival.* Either supposing

* The Swahili "dress their vessels at the feast that follows Ramadan i.e. (for the year 1498) towards the end of May (Ro).

this to be a fraternal greeting by such as "would conduct themselves gleefully in the presence of one professing the same faith" (L.C.), or simply:

"to keep them company, we did as much and more to our ships, as nought was lacking to us except in regard to the crew, for even the few we had were ill. And here we anchored with great pleasure, it appearing to us that on the very next day we might go to hear mass on land with Christians reported to be here, living quite apart from the Moors and under their own Magistrate (alcaide).

The pilots whom we carried said that....on our arrival they (the Christians) would do us much honour and would take us to their own houses. Now this was said by them for a purpose, not because it was so." (Ro.)

At midnight the chief-captain's ship was tumultuously approached by a large ***Zavra* containing about 100 men, all armed with broad swords and bucklers. Any hostile intention was thwarted by the wary hosts who admitted on board and entertained only four or five leaders.

Next day the prince of Mombaca sent to the commander a present including a ring, as a personal assurance of safety and at the same time promised to supply all needs when once the port should be entered. As bearers of this message came "two men almost white (muito alvos): they said that they were Christians and so it appeared to us." The return present, a string of corals was sent by *degradados*.

Two of the most sagacious and expert
He sends, that they the crafty Moors may spy,
Their town and power, and where these Christians be.
Lus. II. 7. Aub.

** "A dhow, a small open vessel, sharp at the stern, with square sail of matting."

They were graciously received and ordered to be shown over the whole city which in the words of a somewhat later visitor, contained houses many stories high and beautified with pictures both graven and painted. In the course of their rambles they came to the house of two merchants where was pointed out to them, as an object of their hosts' adoration, a paper (carta) "on which was depicted the Holy Spirit,"*** It is added (not by the diarist) that rosaries with crosses were devoutly kissed by these Indians, disciples of St. Thomas who embraced the strangers as co-religionists from earth's remotest corner. Later on the genuineness of this reception was more than doubled;

The Christians twain for night were sheltered,
Nought seeing how they both had been misled
With all attention worthy and complete,
By the false sanctimonious counterfeit (false
e sancto fingimento.)

Even our unsophisticated diarist, crediting the existence here of downtrodden Christians (however depressed in condition), seems conscious that the two worshippers may be, like certain Pharisees of old, employed as "spies which should feign themselves just men":

"Those who went on shore told us that they saw many men bound with irons going through the city, and these as it appeared to us would be (*deviam de ser*) 'Xtians, because the 'Xtians in this land are at war with the Moors. The 'Xtians who are in this city are as merchant sojourners, and they are very submissive, because they do nothing but that which the Moorish King has commanded them. And when all was seen, the king sent samples of clove, pepper, ginger and

***Burton (Cam. IV. p. 24) suggests a figure of Kapot—eshwar, the pigeon—god and goddess, an incarnation of Shiva and his wife, the third person of the Hindu triad.

trigo tremez" (i.e. corn that comes up and ripens in three months, which to-day is sent eastward in ship-loads by the Swaheli.)

A less convincing account adds to the list, gold, silver, wax, and marble; the royal trader realised that an offer of the former products upon reasonable terms would prove sufficient enticement to his brother merchant.

L. Coelho explains how this doubly tempted one was lulled into a false sense of security:

"Vasco, when he saw the spice, which was the chief end for which he had undertaken to lead the way on his wearisome voyage, and was certified that the Moor would give him as much as he should ask for, believing that he was in a land truly hospitable and in great part Christian, imposed upon by the cunningly prepared bait with which the base Moor was drawing him on to perdition, having taken counsel with the other captains, agreed to go and anchor within the port. And he was strengthened in this resolution by seeing how the Moors kept on coming to the commander's ship and stayed about in free and easy manner, as if they had never had better friends than the Portuguese mariners. The allurements of the spice, perhaps more than the supposed existence of Christians overcame in Vasco da Gama his native prudence and suspicious turn of mind."

On Tuesday (April 10) as they were trying to enter the port an accident occurred: the *Gabriel* came upon a shallow, refused to answer her helm and fouled the vessel astern. The chief captain shouts forth an order to anchor. The hurry scurry of sailors all eagerness to obey—causes an uproar that momentarily resembles panic. The *Moors* aboard the *Gabriel* are dismayed and beat a hasty retreat to their Zavra; as this passes astern the two pilots from Moçambique drop into the water and are rescued by their compatriots, may be complotters!

This occasion is considered by Camoens to be worthy the interference of a friendly goddess, who

Stands with others in array,
Fronting the captain's prow, and there doth veil
The passage to the bar, in such a way
That vainly blows the wind to fill the sail;
'Gainst the hard hull she doth her soft breast lay.

Back on her course the ship is forced to turn,
In spite of those on board, who with loud shout
The sails manoeuvre;.....

The alarming sea-shout rises up around
From the rude sailor thus to work impelled;
The Moors are scared by the distressing sound

.....

They fancy that their treacheries are known,
And that for these they now must here atone.

Aub.

Conscious of accidental escape from dire disaster, our Commander is determined to probe these hidden depths of treachery. He therefore "questions" two remaining *Moors* after a manner well understood in those good old days; the diarist expresses in one word *pingar*—to drip—a form of torture that consists in casting drops of oil, fat or resin, at the boil, or even molten metal, upon the skin of an individual with a view to confession of whatever his tormentors may wish to have revealed (see *Ro.* note p. 40, 1st and 2nd. ed.). Thus powerfully exhorted these unfortunates, both from Moçambique, one of them perhaps the very last Arab pilot aboard, admitted receiving orders for the capture of the ships as soon as they entered the port, and this by way of revenge for the strangers' conduct in that other harbour.

For a state of painful inactivity, the Portuguese use freely the world-wide expression *to have one's hands tied*. Doubtless their sailors were astonished when one of the

victims, bound afresh for renewal of the drip process, leapt into the sea, to be followed by his comrade during break-of day watch.

This proposed re examining should probably be connected with a bold attempt from the shore which in the diarist's opinion was rendered futile by Providence: *At midnight there came two almadias containing many men who plunged into the water whilst the almadias remained at a distance; and they went to the Berrio and some to the Raphael. And those at the Berrio began to hack the cable. The men on watch imagined they were tunny fish and when they recognised them they shouted to the other ships. Some had already laid hold of the chains of the rigging of the Raphael's foresail; when discovered they quietly let themselves down and escaped. These and many other roguish tricks were planned by these dogs; but our Saviour would not suffer them to succeed because they believed not in him."*

He records with like thankfulness recovery from a state of debility which had, so to speak, put their canine foe more eagerly on the scent..

"It pleased God in his pity (misericordia) that while we were beside this city soon all the sick whom we carried became sound, for this is a land of good airs.

We still stayed Wednesday and Thursday—in hope of securing a pilot—after our discovery of the malice and treachery which these dogs had purposed to put into practice against us."

At last, on Friday morning, (April 13) they came clear of this nightmare region, yet not without incident. "On crossing the bar they were unable to heave up one of the anchors. The Moors subsequently fished it up and placed it near the royal palace."*—this much of the fleet was left for a while in pawn!

* Here it was found when D'Almeida took the city in 1505 (Ra, quoting Castanheda).

With a light but favouring wind they will run about thirty miles, to draw up for the night close in shore:

The gallant fleet before the steady wind
Sweeps on, and leaves long foamy tracts behind;
While as they sail the joyful crew relate
Their wondrous safety from impending fate.—*Mi.*

At day break a watcher spied two barcos (longshore craft). Since these might be under guidance by the object of their search, a suitable pilot, chase was immediately given. The zambucos (as L. Coelho calls them) were three leagues ahead in the open sea, and one escaped landwards. The second contained millet and other provisions, also gold and silver, in quantities unmentioned; Correa loads it with a cargo of ivory, money and rich jewels. The pursuit, lasting until vesper-time ended with a second surprise for the Portuguese. When capture was seen to be inevitable the seventeen occupants of the barco, including as passengers an old Moor of distinction and his young wife, leapt with one consent into the sea—rather than trust their persons to unknown gallantry. However, the risk was not so great as that of midnight diving, and soon all were safe aboard the boats. In Correa's romance the vessel carried eighty persons; the old Moor was owner and captain thereof; his young wife had four women attendants.

Whether the rescued were many or few the chief captain looked among them in vain for the man of his choice:

No pilot here his wandering course to guide,
No lip to tell where rolls the Indian tide;
The voyage calm, or perilous, or afar,
Beneath what heaven, or which the guiding star:
Yet this they told, that by the neighb'ring bay
A potent monarch reign'd, whose pious sway
For truth and noblest bounty far renown'd,
Still with the stranger's grateful praise was crown'd.
Mi.

The adjacent city's fair report, though coupled with a rumour of ships belonging to Christians of St. Thomas sheltering there, found Vasco averse to encountering another display of Arab hospitality. His own inclination was to make straight for the Malabar coast. But the need for a native pilot was paramount. Just because D'Alenquer and his colleagues were past-masters in their craft no one would of himself undertake the great venture. So the commander will accept the lesser risk, knowing that in the last resort he can rely for safety upon valorous crews and upon his bombards.

At sunset the ships cast anchor in a sheltered roadstead three miles south of Malindi (Mijlindes. Malindi).

CHAPTER XI.

(MELINDE).

*. . . . in full view Melinde's kingdom lay,
 Adorned with awnings, bright with art complete,
 Showing they venerate the sacred day;
 Banners and royal standard fluttering meet,
 The purple colour glitters far away;
 Tambours and tambourines resound, the while
 They enter, warriors with a peaceful smile.
 Now is Melinde's shore all thickly lined
 With people come to see the joyful fleet,
 A people far more truthful, far more kind
 Than they in lands they left behind could meet.*

DURING THAT NIGHT and the following Sunday our crews are free to celebrate with customary zeal, by banner and song and dance, the Resurrection Feast. Some thoughtful spirits will have in mind their own seemingly miraculous recovery from a death-in-life that had well nigh left them to Moslem tender mercies; hardly can such fail to reflect upon the storm panic that challenged the very purpose of the journey, or upon the hitherto unfulfilled dread of separation by drift and darkness on a foully treacherous coast.

Doubtless in the morning his brother would come to hold high festival on Paulo's ship, joining his men in

thanksgiving to "Our Lady" who, above all, was regarded as having led them safely on their way. Mary was represented with the Child in her arms, at the foot of the Cross and apostles grouped about her. On this occasion Vasco was by way of testing the creed of the occupants of four large Indian vessels then in harbour and reported to be Nestorians called after St. Thomas, or, as Barros wrote later, members of a Hindoo sect—Baneans or Cambaya. When shown the picture they prostrated themselves and as long as the fleet remained there came before it to say their prayers, bringing pepper and other offerings. The Roterio has been interpreted as saying that the Malindians built their houses with hewn stone, with handsome rooms and painted ceilings. This may be compared with a sixteenth century statement that these people "build their houses very sumptuously after the manner of Europe." But not once during the nine days spent here was our diarist likely to get leave ashore and his actual words, though complimentary, suggest but a view from without:

"This town of Mijlyndi is in a bay (or creek-angra) and stretches along the shore; which town may, if one wishes, be likened to Alcouchete.* The houses are lofty and well whitened (cayadas) and have many windows. And on the land side reaching to the houses, is a very large plantation of palms; and all the adjacent land is cultivated with millet and other food plants."

To-day the countryside supplies passing ships with vegetables and sheep and with water in abundance from wells of ancient construction. Southward of the modern village are ruins of a walled city and inscriptions in Persian and Arabic.

* On the left bank of Tagus estuary (*Ra* 46 No. 2).
For Melinde see *Ra* and *Af. Pilot* iii. 414.

Although on Easter day Vasco moved to within half a league of land and nearer the town its inhabitants made no advances, they having heard from that escaped barco, of his piratical capture. Nor does the sober diarist hint at a duplication of the Moçambique Flag Waving (See p. 1, Chap. X. and verses at head of this Chap.) in honour of a Christian Festival! To get into touch and, without danger from reprisals, announce their prisoners' safety, the Portuguese adopted a novel procedure:

One of their captive Moors they send before,
To show the king their coming to his shore.

On Monday morning at his own request, our venerable Moor is deposited on a low bank* confronting the town; for a companion he had a *degradado*, selected, no doubt, with a view to interpreting. His countrymen fetch them away in a dugout. After dinner he reappears in a zavra escorted by a member of the royal household and a Xarife. These three messengers bringing with them three sheep (tokens for the three captains of good things to come), announce the Regent of Malindi's desire to enter upon friendly relations and in particular his willingness to supply the longed for pilots.

On this the commander proposed to come next day towards the inward part of the town. His return present consisted of a monkish overall, 2 strings of coral, 3 wash-hand basins, a hat, little bells, and two pieces of striped cotton cloth. 'Such meagre gifts, here and elsewhere, occasioned Burton's gibe':

*The diarists *baixa* might suggest as much, but doubtless refers to the extensive *Pillar Bank*, a coral reef parallel with the coast between *Malindi Road* and Town, the anchorage of the latter being protected by it.

"The Portuguese, expecting to find none other but savages beyond the Cape, carried by way of presents only preserves and confectionery, glass beads, bells, coral, and similar articles." The explorer adds: "The shaykh, of Melinde must have marvelled at the contrast of cannon and presents."

Yet gradation may be observed in the marks of confidence bestowed by these candidates for each other's friendship. Nor must our old Moor be denied credit for the earlier transactions. He and his having suffered on board, the strangers' seeming rapacity could be attributed to empty stomachs, while the innocent aim of their expedition was clearly commerce; accordingly the next consignment from shore included twice the number of sheep and five specimens of spicery. Malindi's enlightened ruler, not unacquainted with big guns, and dubious of the approaching armament, might have occult reasons for wishing that our lion should enter the fold in a more lamblike manner. But whatever his motives, there is to be no such outburst as took place at Moçambique owing to the absence of scarlet cloth!

On Tuesday the commander, whose pilots must have urged escape from an exposed position, fulfills his self-imposed obligation by coming still closer in; though his fleet cannot enter the shallow cove forming the innermost harbour. It is now for the Regent to make a further suggestion, viz.: that on the day following there should be a parley, neither ashore nor at the ships, but midway. So fair a proposal may not be rejected. The only question is now to secure an effective demonstration without exposing the person of the commander:

"In discussing the manner of this meeting Vasco da Gama arranged that his brother and Nicolau Coelho should remain in the ships upon the watch and ready for any emergency that might occur, and himself with all the boats and the best men in the fleet dressed in

holiday attire and secretly armed, with a great show of banners and an awning over the boat should repair to the place of meeting.

This order was observed when the appointed day came, Vasco da Gama leaving the ships with a loud noise of trumpets which was answered by the voices of the men who shouted to each other congratulations upon the joyful occasion, for as it was the third day of the octave of Easter, which in their kingdom they were accustomed to keep with rejoicing and pleasure, it seemed to them that they were among their own people.....

The first signal of peace which Vasco da Gama ordered to be given was to silence the instruments of rejoicing and discharge those of war which were several cannons and guns, which was followed by a loud hurrah, to which our people in the ships replied in like manner with the discharge of their artillery." (Ba.)

The exact hour of this rencontre is given in the Roterio as Wednesday after dinner. The festive appearance of the Regent in his Zavra, with something of the splendour of a Persian satrap, charmed even the sober-eyed one:

"This is the manner of the king's equipage. Firstly a (royal) robe of damask, lined with green satin, a very rich touca on his head; two chairs of bronze with their cushions and a sunshade of crimson satin, which sunshade was round and was fixed on a pole. And he carried with him an old man as page who wore a short broad sword which had a sheath of silver; and there were many anafils and two trumpets* of ivory of the height of a man and they were richly carved and they were

* This royal trumpet was peculiar to cities ruled by descendants of the Persians of Shiraz who settled on this coast in the 11th and 12th centuries. (Ra).

played through a hole that was in the middle, which trumpets were played in harmony with the anafils."

When the guns and the music were silent discussion ensued:

"Many words and good were exchanged, amongst which were these: the King having mentioned a desire that the captain should go with him to his house for diversion, and that he himself would enter the ships, the captain said that he had not his lord's permission to go forth on shore and that if he did land a bad report would be given to him by one who had so ordered this matter. The King asked how, if he visited the captain's ships, he could give a report of himself to his people, or how they would speak of him. And he inquired the name of our king, commanding it to be written down; and he said that if we returned that way he would send an ambassador or write a letter.

Each 'having spoken that which he desired,' the climax is reached by Vasco who like a magnanimous highwayman, hands over all his Moorish prisoners, Malindi's prince replies that he esteems this action more highly than the present of a city—recalling the words of the king of Sodom to the patriarch Abraham: "Give me the persons and take the goods to yourself."

The remainder of the evening was given up to enjoyment. The regent went round about the ships which fired many bombards "and he delighted greatly in seeing them fire, and in this they spent some three hours." At parting he left on board a son and a 'Xalife whilst there went two Portuguese with him to see his palace; moreover he said that, the captain being unwilling to land, he himself would return to the beach.

Accordingly, on Thursday the chief captain, accompanied by Coelho—Paul being again left with the ships—drew up along the town front in boats which carried the small, but indispensable bombards. Crowds assembled

to watch a sparring match between two horsemen who seemingly enjoyed their performance immensely. Meanwhile the Regent is conveyed in a palanquin from the stone steps of his palace to the water's edge beside the captain's boat. Here the coaxing is recommenced:— Won't the captain be so kind as to come ashore, if only to cheer by his presence the regent's aged father, confined in dreariness to his chamber? To secure this boon he and his sons would willingly go aboard. But the captain excused himself.

Throughout a stay which covered the Easter Octave this town was given up to carnival; many were the sham fights by footmen and many were the concerts of musical instruments ("fanfares"—Ra.). The sojourners from the East took part spontaneously in this welcome to the pioneers from the West. As the Portuguese Captains were going towards the town 'there was fired from the ships of the Christian Indians many bombards and they raised their hands on seeing them pass, all uttering with great cheerfulness: "Christe. Christe."* On that day they craved and received the regent's permission to fête "us others"—i.e. perhaps on the ground of co-religion. Accordingly, at night they held festivities and fired off many bombards, giving vent to their feelings as well by shouting as by letting off fireworks.

The diarist gives us here a brief description of his fellow visitors:

"These Indians are tawny (*bacos*) men and lightly clad, wear great beards and the hair of the head very long and braided, and they do not eat the flesh of the ox; so they said.

* They may have cried *Krishna*, the 2nd person of the Hindu Trinity and most popular of Indian gods.

Their language differs much from that of Moors; a few of them know some little Arabic, as there is frequent intercourse."

Comparative independence enables the Indian traders to issue a warning against solicitations from Malindi—we should not land or trust to "fanfares" which express neither their feelings nor their intentions.

It may now be instructive to glance at some of Correa's interpolations. Here at Malindi, as L. Coelho points out, his poetic licence exceeds Camoens'. By this and by a Shakespearean instinct for bypaths of tradition we are not always losers. The theatrical wand sets hero and villain to renew their strife convincingly enough at times. But his are too often errors of the spirit rather than of the letter. "Founded on Fact" as recorded in the Roterio and in the orthodox historians, Correa's palatial romance at its best is a piece of mere knight errantry and at its most is suggestive of a nabob's gilded fancy.

Perhaps his most gratuitous invention is that which makes Vasco, in the name of Portugal's king, bestow upon Malindi's regent 'the greatest honour in the world, that is knighthood.' There is a sense of pathos when Correa seeks to enhance the value of this gift by details concerning the showiness of the accompanying sword and lance and target.

He says that upon the all important question of landing Vasco conferred with his brother and explained how it was fitting for him as the younger to take the greater risk whilst Paulo, because he was of greater authority and more prudent, should abide by the ships, and by way of confirming themselves in this resolve the two valiant captains embraced with many tokens of good will and brotherliness and with tears and expressions of sincere regard.

By way of preliminary Nicolas Coelho was sent ashore "because he was well disposed, of genteel carriage (de boa

gentileza) and discreet in utterance." Coached by Vasco, his master in more senses than one, this trusty messenger declared the awesomeness of Manoel whose very name spoke of divinity, whose horsemen were counted by the thousand, who kept at sea two hundred ships whilst the revenues from innumerable cities and lesser towns of his dominion provided a monthly surplus of 200,000 golden crusados. Even the humblest representative of such fairy magnificence should be suitably rewarded; so our daring raconteur departs with bleached cloth, gold-fringed silk and ring set with a stone that *looked like sapphire!*

When the chief captain is himself pictured as going on a solemn visitation Correa (quoted by L. Coelho) disappoints us for once from a scenic point of view. Friendly assurances are exchanged. But the usual helps to the imagination are not given, the magician being conscious that here his fantasies are not even based upon fact. Omitted are customary details of, say, refreshments sent on priceless platters or from glimmering goblets in a glittering palace. The expectant father has been unvisited in his darkened room; unrecorded is the chagrin of the attendant twelve (how if our diarist had been one?) even though a pressing invitation to stay has been politely refused.

Correa is self consistent in assigning three months for the doings at Malindi. During this time a diminished number of workmen had ample time to make the vessels seaworthy. Sick folk were accommodated in the environs, fruitful and provided with health giving waters, while the captains frequented the palace or visited the farm which served at once as a royal pleasure ground and kitchen garden. In this connection, we are told that sufficient vegetables were supplied to satiate the crews—surely our diarist with his constant care for matters culinary would not have left such plenty unrecorded!

Correa's entertainment of Malindi's king and counselors on board the flag ship is quite in his accustomed strain. So splendidly was the table furnished that the Malindian chief exclaimed: "If these men are served with silver, their king will not be served with less than gold!" After this collation the guest was waited on by the host with water and a gold-embroidered towel, with silver ewer and basin so heavy that his corpulent highness had much ado to lift them with both hands. The Malindian hesitated to accept as a gift what rich and curious workmanship had rendered almost priceless until the courtly Vasco assured him that by Portuguese custom what the king had once used should henceforth be used by none other. Small wonder when this ruler, a firm believer in the conquest of hearts by gift and entertainment, remarked complacently that Portuguese tact would overcome all obstacles! (L.C. 134).

Turning from these riotings of the Cororean fancy, it is sad to contemplate how, at a later period when the author of the *Lenias* commences his long Indian residence, the Portuguese will requite but shabbily the essential services rendered them at Malindi.*

Unwillingness on the part of the stranger to place himself in a position of helplessness seems to have caused a temporary coolness. For two days there had been no

* For a sober estimate of this part of the *Lendas das Indias* see L. Coelho V. da Gama II. p. 116, 128, 135, 136, and for above description; see also Rec. p. 183 ff. Re ungenerous treatment see D. F. D'Almeida's letter (Stan. Three *Voyages* p. 125). In 1515, says *Ra.*, the Sheikh Wajeraj, probably our Regent's son, begged Manoel's permission to send annually *one* vessel to Goa and Mocambique. He very humbly or sarcastically addresses the king as the "fountain of the commerce of all cities and kingdoms, the most equitable of sovereigns and the enricher of all peoples," when, indeed, the Portuguese had crippled the trade of Malindi, which had received him with open arms." The Portuguese notion of benefitting their allies was to avenge them against the common foe at Quilo and Mocambique. (*Ra.* p. 44 n.i.).

visitor from shore. Then came in a *zavra* the regent's personal attendant. On him Vasco laid hold, commanding that his lord be informed of the unfulfilled promise. Satisfaction was no longer delayed. "We were greatly delighted with the Christian pilot whom the king sent us." (Ro.).

Barros gives the impression that his coming on board was by no means a matter of compulsion. The prefix to his name, Malema, is corrupted from *mamallim*, teacher, Cana or Canaqua gives his caste. It is also used to denote a sailing master:

"Among these visitors from the Indian ships was a Moor of the Guzerat nation named Malema Cana, who from the pleasure he took in the conversation of our people and his desire to please the king who was seeking a pilot for them, agreed to go with them. After Vasco da Gama had conversed with him he was well satisfied with his knowledge, especially when he showed him a chart of the whole coast of India arranged in the Moorish fashion, that is divided into very small squares by meridians and parallels. It was a simpler and more useful specimen of cartography than any at the disposal of Portuguese mariners. At sight of da Gama's big *wooden astrolabe* the Moor exhibited the brass ones, saying that some of the pilots of the Red Sea used brass instruments in the shape of a triangle or quadrant, with which they measured the height of the sun and particularly of the stars which they used most in navigation."

In two contemporary letters descriptive of this voyage (*Ra.* pp. 134, 139) the *Moors* are said, when navigating the Great Gulf, to trust to quadrants of wood. But Cana's navigators of Cambaya and of all India measured their distances by quite another kind of instrument, said vaguely to consist of three tablets.

To sum up, our respect for the chief captain is increased by finding him conversant with the pilot's art; yet whilst his expedition was fitted up with something better than the *cross staff* of common use, Barros as Geographer, gives the impression that in these matters the new comers had more to learn than to teach.

The same writer agrees with our diarist in the date of departure and is doubtless correct in surmising that our hero's one thought was to get away with his *treasure*, though not correct in anticipating, by the erection of a pillar, a later sign (see p. 200, ch. 15) of friendship renewed:

“From this and other conversations which Vasco da Gama held with this pilot (about the seed pearl and christians of Quilo, etc.) he looked upon him as a great treasure, and in order not to lose him, after setting up a land mark called the *Santo Espirito* in the town, by the king's permission, saying that it should be a witness of the peace and friendship he had agreed upon with him, as speedily as possible, he set sail for India, which was on the 24th of April.”

CHAPTER XII.

NEARING THE GOAL.

A boy

*From the tall Am'rall's scuttle shows the ships Land, to the prow
now (all haste) with joy The pilot (whom Mellindians to them
put) Cryss "If I err not, land of Calicut."*

Lus. VI. 92 — Fanshaw.

WHEN ATTEMPTING TO DEFINE the relative positions of Hindustan and the East African shores our diarist does not employ such names as Bay (angra) Gulf, (golfo) Arabian Sea, or Indian Ocean, the general adoption of which last will one day prove that a problem of the ages has been solved by this very expedition. Nor could he without libelling his countrymen and co-religionists, apply the ordinary label which, owing to arrogant ignorance or commercial exclusiveness will persist until 1600, when Pory writes of "*the bay of barbarians....Sinus Barbicus* (of Ptolmey), a mightie gufe on the backside of Africa, stretching (as some will have it) from 4 degrees of northerly to 17 of southerly latitude*." On his return voyage the diarist refers to this part as a Passage or Crossing (travessa); here he makes choice of another and somewhat unusual Portuguese word:

* *Travels of Leo Africanus, the Moor*; Pory's trans.—Hak. Soc. nos. 92-94, Vol. I. mostly north of the equator.—*Ra*, Map VII. In the British Museum Map of 1492 (see *Map* and p. 27. In Canerio's chart of 1502 *Sinus Barbicus* is Beaz. *Henry the Navigator*, opp. p. 322) we have *Oceanus Indicus Meridional* (is) opposite the unexplored S.E African coast and *Mare Arabicum* for the upper part of the Red Sea, cp. Pliny's *Sinus Arabicus*.

"The coast runs North and South, whilst the land here forms a *very great emseada* (en and seio, fold) and strait,** in the which emseada, as we had information, are many cities of Christians and Moors, and one city which is called Quambaya (Cambay) and six hundred known inlands where also is the Red Sea and the house of Mecca."

Up through this unknown waterway will come our pack of adventurers eager to break the Moorish monopoly and to enlist fellow Christians in their surprise attack on the Prophet's domains.

I am of opinion this is the Gulf of Arabia, concerning which Pliny wrote that "Alexander the Great went there, to make war, as also did the Romans, who took all by war."

This classical garnish is added by Girolamo Sernigi to the homely dish of the diarist. In what may be regarded as an intelligent anticipation of the newsletter, addressed to a friend at Florence, our Italian merchant provides perhaps the earliest of a thousand glosses upon the text of the diary. He will presently be found tampering with another statement in this same paragraph. The writers concur in a lively description of the dangers and impositions of the ordinary Overland Route. The wretched spice merchant if not overwhelmed in the Red Sea, the Sinai desert or the Mysterious Nile, has certainly been fleeced by Moslem chief and Cairo bandit ere the camels ply with lightened load on their last day's journey from Rosetta to Alexandria.

At this seaport they are met by Genoese and Venetian galleys whose Christian owners, willy-nilly, help to swell

** The strait is Babel-el-Mandib. Cambay, in the pilot's country of Guzerat (Gujarat), was at this time most flourishing. The islands would include the Laceadives (Laksha Dwipa 100,000 isles), 24 in number! (*Ra.* 134, n. 5), in ill repute on account of shoals; the da Gamas will pass to the north of them.

the customs returns of Egypt's Grand Sultan, amounting to "600,000 (*golden*) *crusados*, out of which he gives every year to a king called *Cidadym**** a hundred thousand, to make war on *Prester John*!"

Though Sernigi appears not one whit less eager to recommend new lines of transit, this climax is reached by our diarist alone; for what Italian dare hint that the Republics' lucrative trade is in effect equipping a Moslem army? Castanheda writes suggestively on this topic; Manoel's predecessor Joao II "*having lofty ideas*" sought what amounted to a "*new central route*," viz.: "*the dominions of Prester John, and through them to obtain entrance into India, to which country he might send his captains for those riches which the Venetians brought him for sale.*"*

During their passage of that "*very great gulf*" the African coast-line was probably visible for a couple of days. Shortly afterwards occurred the only incident of the crossing recorded by the diarist. "On the following Lord's day we had sight of the North Star which we had left off seeing." Its reappearance would enable European pilots to test their reckoning. They were actually out of sight of land for three weeks and a day. This meant a prosperous voyage, favoured by the commencement of the S.W. monsoon; though its record was easily beaten by Cabral and others who crossed in August.

When still eight leagues from shore they sighted "a

***Obadiah?) No mythical personage, though bearing almost as formidable a name as "*Jeremiah bind their nobles in chains....*" He is identified with "*Sultan Muhammed....sa'd ed din of Harar*"—*Ra.* 78 n. 5.

*Theal's *Records* p. 349, the diarist here speaks of "the Nile which comes from the land of *Prester John das Indias Baixas* (of the Lower Indias) and of "this land of *Calicut* which is called *India Alta*" terms that like those of *Great* and *Lesser* India often led to confusion

highland"—their Indian pilot was unable to be more definite at the time—probably the conspicuous wooded hill, forming a promontory about 16 miles to the North of Cananor; "this" says Dr. Ravenstein "was Mt. Eli, 2220 miles from Melinde, and the day on which India was first beheld by Europeans who had come direct from a European port was May 18th, a Friday."**

Next day, though further south, they were not sure of their position, many showers and thunder storms veiling the Western Ghats.

This hint is enough for Camoens whose heroes may not lightly enter on their Promised Land. While the Watch is entranced by Veloso's nerve-racking stories and others sleep heavily below, "the master, watching o'er the sky" detects the coming of a Squall. His whistle sounds: the sailors leap to deck: reefing of foresails is begun:

'Indignant winds....ere it (the mainsail)
Could be lowered,
With blustering noise the sail in pieces rend
As if the world were coming to an end.

The soldiers who should work the pumps are prostrated;
the steering wheel is bound with cords;

The vessel over lies
And ships a mass of water in the wind,
The powerful ship with Gama's brother Paul,
With mast asunder snapped by wind and wave,
Half under water lies.'

Coelho was prompt and the caravel more easily managed;
yet his crew partake of the general panic, as

'Now rising to the clouds they seem to go,
.....
Now to the bowels of the earth below.
While flashings fire the black and ugly night,

** The diarist, Goes following suit, says "Friday the 17th," but the 18th was Friday, an "unlucky" day!

Vasco da Gama....calls upon that powerful Aid
Who can the impossible:.....

“Why dost thou now forsake us at the last?”

When he sees the storm abate,

.....
‘Like one just wakened from a horrid dream.’

.....
‘Gama can bear no more; all over-wrought
With joy to find the land now known and near
With knees upon the ground, his thanks are given.’

Lus VI., 41, 70, etc. *Aub.*

“And on the Lord’s day (May 20) we were close to some mountains the which are more lofty than men ever saw, the which are above the city of Calicut, and we approached so near to them that the pilot whom we carried recognised them and told us it was the land whither we were longing to go.—*Ro.*

This recognition, according to Goes, took place in the morning and was speedily followed by festivities: He (Canaqua) sought from Vasco da Gama *the reward for good news* (alvicares) which he gave to them in good measure and with good will, all giving praise to God for having guided them to the place which now for so long a time they had been seeking. For this they made great feasts and rejoicings. Thus, with the ships beflagged, to the sound of trumpets, that same day after dining, they cast anchor two leagues from the city of Calicut. as pleased as if they had already made an end of labours and were anchored off the city of Lisbon whence eleven months earlier they had set forth.

Even now the pilot was seven miles short of his reckoning. But that night there came fishermen in four barcos who enquired their nationality and pointed out the city. Next day, the same boats being along

side, Vasco took occasion to send on shore a degradado, probably the subtle Martins "who already understood the speech of the Moor although he could not speak it": Correa adds that this silent scout was instructed not to answer questions. ! !

In the town his strange garb attracted immense crowds whose curiosity was insatiable, for, to all that was said not one word could he reply. Proceeding from house to house through the foreign merchants' quarter he came at length before two *Moors* from Tunis, one of them could talk Castilian and the other Genoese. The former was known as Monçaide (i.e. the happy one; according to Correa he claimed to be "a native of Seville, taken prisoner as a boy of few years....he had taken the name and ceremonies of a Moor, but God in Heaven knew that his soul was Christian;" by this renegade our convict-envoy was greeted in religious fashion "Brother, God preserve you!"—or as the Diary has it: "To the Devil with thee! Who brought thee hither?" Being asked what the adventurers came so far to seek his reply was "Christians and Spices." "Why," said they, "do not the king of Castile and the king of France and the Senhoria of Venice send hither?" He retorts that the King of Portugal will brook no interference. At the close of this catechism hospitality takes the form of wheaten bread and honey.

Monçaide accompanies his guest aboard where the captains are sitting together on chairs; he will presently be accommodated with a stool beside them. "Cap in hand and curtesying the Happy One exclaims: "Good luck, good luck! (*boena ventura*)—many rubies, many emeralds, many thanks you should give to God for bringing you to a land where there are such riches." It was to us a great surprise to hear him speak, and we did not believe that there existed a man so far from Portugal who understood our tongue!"—Correa adds that the audience wept for joy. *Ro.*

Whilst the fleet is riding at anchor we will seek to visualise the "noble and rich," but unpretentious city as it appeared to early overland visitors. An unbroken coast with the sea breaking against the walls of the houses, and a wide sandy plain on all other sides made ramparts unnecessary, the ground being overcharged with water (albeit of an excellent quality); stone was used, but for a few chief buildings, including mosque and pagoda; the home of the Hindu trader was generally of wood, 'about as high as a man on horseback' and lightly thatched with palm.

Here is all the charm of an old world garden city, containing within itself extensive groves of plantain, cocoa-nut and other palms, mango and Jack and Ivy-like pepper tree; the place seemed to be an adopted child of Nature.

In the 15th century it had become a trading metropolis one of the world's greatest: the emporium for all eastern goods, pearls, seed-pearl and precious stones, drugs and dyes, gold-thread, China silks and hangings, nor may we omit from our list the Calico, *cloth of Calecut* as afterwards named by Westerners.

In these far-reaching activities the home biding Hindu played but a minor part, whereas instinct taught the Arab, including half-breed Moplabs, of whom more hereafter, to control the sea-borne traffic. A complicated regime was in force, Mohammedan residents enjoyed special trading facilities and a semi-independent judicial position; even a sovereign, so custom decreed, must not promulgate the death sentence until compatriots had sat in judgment.

That the system made for general contentment is clear from the evidence of travellers, including a Frenchman, an Italian, and a Persian, the last of these, a Moslem who hated the place and had no personal reasons for loving the Samuri, was too high minded to vent his spite.

“Security and Justice are so firmly established in this city that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes which they unload, and unhesitatingly send to the markets and the bazaars without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the accounts or keeping watch over the goods....every ship whatever place it may come from or wheresoever it may be bound, when it puts into this port is treated like other vessels, and has no trouble of any kind to put up with’—*India in the 15th century*, quoted by Whiteway, 26.”

What of the seemingly trivial in reality fateful, relations about to be established between our voyagers and their Indian hosts?

The altogether too respectable Barros, not content with regal honours for Calicut’s native ruler, explains his title of Camorij (Samuri or Zamorin) conferred “by way of excellence” as equivalent to Emperor. Some connect the word with a tradition that the first limits of this Hindu settlement were decided by the distance that the crow of a cock could be heard from their local temple. Others render the dynastic (but not imperial!) title as *Lord of the Sea* or *King of the Coast*. This “master of the commerce of the Orient” had no hinterland. True, that with the aid of auxiliaries he could raise 100,000 warriors and his suzerainty was recognised by a group of principalities stretching southward as far as Cochin, then the best of Malabar ports.

Our Portuguese visitors were hopelessly prejudiced by a habit acquired in Africa of regarding Eastern customs as so many varieties of the home practice. Such observers were naturally incapable of appreciating what this realm displayed of the complexities of Hindu Caste: The diarist says naïvely;

“This city of Calicut consists of Christians who are tawny men,” he adds details—some are hairy,

bearded or whiskered; others though close cropped, leave a forelock "as a token that they are Christians." The most respectable go least nearly naked; their women are small ugly and bejewelled, all these folk "are of good condition and are kindly disposed so far as appears, yet,* at first sight they seem to know little and to be highly covetous."

When the Portuguese arrived King Camolin was at a distance from his capital; meanwhile they were informed by Monçaide that the monarch's disposition was at once mild and vainglorious; customs dues being the chief source of revenue, his imagination would doubtless be fired by expanding commercial prospects. Accordingly Vasco resolved to inform him in grandiose style that an ambassador and letter bearer from a distant and powerful ruler was waiting his pleasure.

Entrusted with this message friend Martins betook himself at once to the palace; possibly Monçaide, probably Canaqua "as one that knew the country" was of the company; ere long they returned not empty-handed and bringing news that the Samuri was about to proceed to Calicut; with them he sent a pilot, who showed the fleet better anchorage off Pandarani, fourteen miles to the north.

This was a timely act, the wet Monsoon had commenced.

"From 1st May to mid August it is necessary to avoid this tempestuous coast—it rains constantly day and night—as for Calicut," there is no port there;" Pandarani likewise is "a wretched affair and has no port."—*Va.* 132. 135.

* Barros, editing this passage at a later date, recognises the Hindus as such (see pp——for their supposed christianity:) his Brahmins are "the most learned and pious in their manner of belief of all those parts." *Bar. dec. I lib. iv. cap. vii.*

Vasco had already caused dismay to his companions by rejecting the safest berth, seemingly because too near the city: even now a fear of treachery will not suffer him to come as close inshore as the Indian pilot wishes.

Later that day a formal invitation arrived. In a Sunday evening council, consisting of captains, masters, and men of mark, the general anxiety was voiced by the elder da Gama who cautioned the younger against exposing his person. On the other hand Vasco, "knight errant of the ocean whilst at the same time a crafty man of affairs" (Coel, 156) counted it worse than death to face his king with an unfulfilled commission. Therefore Paulo shall be left in charge of the fleet and upon him must fall in case of mishap, the practical duty of securing elsewhere a cargo of spices. Monçaide appears from the first to have prophesied disaster; but no protest, no foreboding, will avail to keep our hero from his Rubicon. Correa now furbishes up as a reply that famous after dinner speech at Mozambique—the king in the West had launched a fleet of 50 ships (separated in a storm) and provided it with a chief captain (Paulo?) who would only send on shore "his *servant* Vasco da Gama."

Next morning (May 28th, 1498) the commander set forth without further ado. His companions numbered thirteen,* all personable men and sprucely attired, the fact that the diarist was one of them gives interest even to an imperfect record of names.

Diogo Dias, purser of the St. Gabriel,—his cheery disposition will shortly be tested.

Joao de Sá, purser of the St. Raphael, soldier and sailor, (a not unusual combination), of cautious disposition and highly esteemed by the chief captain.

* Some authors allot only 12 companions, as if to avoid the unlucky total!

Alvaro de Braga, purser of the *Berrio*, assistant at Calicut factory; he will see much service and be specially rewarded by Manoel.

Gonçalo Pirez, mariner and retainer of Vasco's; had recently given up the appointment as master of a fighting caravel in order to follow the fortunes of his chief.

Fernão Martins, "African slave" and linguist.

Joao Palha and *Joao Setubal* soldiers or sailors (Cor).

Alvaro Velho a soldier whom Prof. Kopke thought likely to be the diarist; Dr. Ravenstein preferred the claims of de Sá.

Vasco da Gama's Veador (overseer) an unsubstantiated party, possibly Diogo's double, or identical with *Alvaro Velho*:—to see to everything concerning the table, was a confidential charge for an official of rank—as hinted elsewhere, the diarist might well have been his understudy.

The rugged style of our anonymous author has suggested a man of humble origin, to be looked for among the remaining three or four of this company whose duties as serving men were less conspicuous than those of the attendant, seen, (in the Frenchman's quaint production) handing Manoel's letter to the Samuri. How tantalising!! we come as it were into the very presence of the elusive one and yet are unable to convey to him our hearty thanks for making known with faithfulest detail the story that will bring Fame and Fortune to more than one of his companions!

But this is to anticipate. Watch now a gay scene on the water; that well dressed company is being rowed landward in boats provided with bombards and flags of the brightest, trumpets blare, adding a festive note to the rhythm of the oars.

Their coming is awaited by the Catual, a chief civilian, with others of distinction, attended by a guard of honour. This consisted of Nairs, i.e. soldiers of caste. Their arms were bow and arrow, buckler and lance and naked swords, these last brandished to keep at a respectful distance an ever increasing crowd of gazers, including women who tramped alongside with clinging progeny! For this first stage of the sandy track the chief captain was borne in a lordly chair on the shoulders of six, preceded by a page with long-poled sunshade. Three bearers trotted smartly; most of the companions, long restricted to exercise on ship-board, were relieved when the observant Catual slackened the pace. Half-way the chief was separately entertained and had no appetite, but his followers were quite ready for a meal of rice and butter, well dressed fish and excellent fruit.

As they journeyed the Catual suggested that a certain temple, of great magnificence and famed for its many pilgrims, would well repay the trouble of a visit. To accept this advice and to do a little bowing in the House of Rimmon may have seemed to the younger da Gama a wise concession to local prejudice. A fellow countryman has likened his conduct to that of Bonaparte in Egypt when seeking the good will of the Mamelukes by public eulogy of the Prophet and his Law. But the Catual, whom in particular Vasco thought to gratify, was probably calculating that simulated piety must estrange both Mohammedan and Brahmin. Nor would a lofty official be perturbed on hearing (what Barros asserts) that low caste Hindoos were mightily pleased at the stranger's compliance.

The reader may like to peruse our diarist's ingenuous account of this episode:

"Here before Calicut was reached they took us to a large Church in which were the following things. Firstly the body of the Church is as large as a

monastery, all made of hewn stone covered with tiles. And the main doorway had a pillar of bronze of the height of a man and very stout.* And in the midst of the body of the Church was a pinnacle, all of hewn stone, and it had a doorway, which doorway was of brass and within there was a small image, which they said was our Lady; and before the main doorway of the Church, along the wall, were seven small bells. Here the chief captain said a prayer and we others with him, and we did not go within the chapel, because their custom is not to enter it, except certain men who serve the Churches, whom they call Quafees."

[Goes (Chap. XL. p. 48) is here more dramatic; the two priests on duty alone entered this "round chapel," which was in semi-darkness, and pointed to an image set in the wall crying Maria! Maria!** On hearing this name the Catual and Naires threw themselves full length on the ground, with their hands in front; presently they stood on their feet and said a prayer. Wherefore our people, it appearing to them that this must be an image of the Virgin Mary, also placed themselves on their knees. These quafees (sic) wear some cords thrown over their (left) shoulder and below the shoulder of the right arm, just as the deacons wear the stole. These men cast over us consecrated water; they

* "The high pillar in front of it (the pagoda) is used for suspending the flag which indicates the commencement of the Temple festival. It is of wood, but usually covered with copper or silver. The cock which surmounts it is the symbol of the War-god Subraumainar. The smaller pillar supports the cocoa-oil lamps during the festival—"Rev. J. J. Jaus of the Basil Mission at Calicut

** "There is a local deity called Mari or Mariamma much dreaded as the Goddess of small-pox, and highly venerated. Amma in Malayalam means mother."—(Rev. J. J. Jous quoted by *Ra.*).

gave (us) some white clay which the christians of this land are accustomed to put on their foreheads and on their breasts, around the neck, and on the brawn of the arms. All this ceremony they performed on the captain and they gave him some clay to put on, and the captain took it and gave it (to some one) to be looked after, making it understood that he would put it on later*** and on the walls of the Church were painted many other saints, who had diadems, and their painting was in diverse manner, for the teeth were so large that they protruded a thumb-breadth from the mouth, and each saint had four or five arms. And below that Church was a large tank made of hewn stone like many others which we had seen on the way.]

It has proved a perennial source of amusement, this wind up of a Christian pilgrimage to a heathern shrine, this invocation of Holy Mary at the feet of the much dreaded goddess of small-pox and this mental transformation of a four-armed, mis-shapen, ill-favoured, long-toothed Brahma into goodness-knows-what saintly relics. Of course Burton enjoys the "quaint scene, Christians innocently praying (with a crash of gongs) to the hideous idols of a Hindu Pagoda." But the following points should be noted,—Barros explains how "our men were of the belief that this race was of the converts of the Apostle St. Thomas," according to reports current in these parts; consequently "*some* placed themselves on their knees to say a prayer to those images, believing them worthy of adoration"—others, it is implied, re-

*** The mixture which Vasco was so reluctant to apply consisted of dust cow-dung, sacrificial ashes, sandal wood, etc., cemented in rice-water (Belinos daily prayer of the Brahmans quoted by *Ra.*) the attendant used sprinkler and basin for the holy-water (*com num isope agoa de hua pia*) and gave them pounded sandalwood to put on their foreheads. "which signs made it the more apparent to our men that it was a church of Christians."—*Go.*

mained standing by way of protest. Cautious João de Sá, pilot of Paulo's ship contrasting, perchance, the ugliness of those frescoed saints with the St. Raphael's figure of the Virgin; remarked as he knelt at Vasco's side. "*If these be devils I here worship the true God;*" whereat, saith our Chronicler (Cas.), "the chief captain smiled." The simple-minded may have been momentarily beguiled by resemblances between their own and the stately Roman (rather than the simpler Indian) type of worship into accepting as modifications of orthodoxy the Hindu purifications, priestly caste, and emotional (not to say sensuous) appeal in art and ritual. Further there was present neither a Roman priest, nor yet that elder brother whose instinct would challenge the grosser forms of superstition and set a limit to compromise. Lastly, Correa, as if for once he had found a story unworthy of credence or derogatory to his hero's reputation omits all mention of the Temple and its worshippers.

CHRISTIAN or HINDU? The diarist all too generous in applying the term Christian to merchant sojourners in East African ports, is equally indiscriminate regarding religions of Malabar. Nay, in a list of kingdoms on the coast to the south of Calicut, which includes Ceylon, Pegu, and at least one state in Sumatra, he excepts only Bengal as "Moorish," the others being predominantly "Christian." This wholesale identification of religious cults was probably a crude reflection of the official view in Portugal, viz.: that the explorers had gone forth to discover "a New Christendom." But the result was immediate and prolonged discussion.

The challenge was sounded by Sernigi, at first with hesitation.

We have already seen, in a letter written in July 1499, when only one vessel of the Armada had returned, how he differs from the diarist in speaking

of the great gulf as "peopled on both sides by Moors." A little further on he so corrects himself as to prove that this first letter was not composed at one sitting. Probably some official from whom he had received permission to consult the Diary pointed out the discrepancy!

"I stated above that the gulf was wholly occupied by Moors, but I have since learned that this was not the case. Only the shore on this side (the West, where is the city of Melinde), is wholly inhabited by white Moors, whilst the further Eastern shore is peopled by Christian Indians, who are as white as we are.

In Christian Calicut are Churches with Bells" but there are no priests, and the divine offices are not performed nor sacrificial (masses) celebrated."

Our news-writer far from satisfied with a string of negatives, appears when Gasper da Gama, the pilot, returned, to have sought an early interview. With journalistic instinct Sernigi drew forth personal details; Gaspar, reputed a Slav, claimed to be an Alexandrian Jew. In early youth he had gone to Calicut there to become a ship owner and father of a family. Possibly Gaspar is here responsible for a curious misstatement, viz.: that he joined our expedition on the voyage outward; we shall presently get to know this pilot as capable of random talk. But he had mastered the Italian tongue, and the second letter to Florence is the better for his criticism:

"He says that in those countries there are only a few Christians, that the supposed Churches and belfries are in reality temples of idolaters and that the pictures within them are those of idols and not of Saints. To me this seems more probable than saying that there are

Christians but no divine administrations, no priests, and no sacrificial mass. I do not understand that there are any Christians there to be taken into account, excepting those of Prester John." *

In the first letter Sernigi explained the "Moorish" ascendancy; "the king is as it were governed by them—for these Christians are coarse people." Likewise his third letter complains of those who were "neither Black nor White Christians, although bad ones."

The first letter contained an amusing account of how "about 80 years since there arrived in this city of Calicut certain vessels of white Christians, who wore their hair long like Germans, and had no beards except round the mouth." They were armed with helmet, vizor, and "a certain weapon (sword) attached to a spear." Their vessels were four-masted "like those of Spain" and had "bombards" shorter than those in use with us. Once every two years they return They load spices in return for a "very fine cloth linen and brassware.....if they were Germans it seems to me, that we should have had some notice of them; possibly they may be Russians. On the arrival of the captain we may learn who these people are, for the Italian-speaking pilot is with him and may be able to tell."

Precise information was not speedily forthcoming: as late as 1508 another captain was directed to find out "all about the Chins" whether they were powerful and whether they were Christians.**

* Ramuso's later version ("Ra 138. n. I.) mentions also" those called Jacobites, who used, and still use, the liturgy of St. James in its Syrian form.

** See Whiteway, 338. (Sailing orders of Diogo Lopez de Sequiera. *An. Mar. e. col. series 4*, p. 479). In the 5th century Chinese ships came as far West as the Euphrates. My quotations from Sernigi's most interesting Letters are to be found in Dr. Ravenstein's *Journal of the first voyage*, pp. 119-142.

Manoel, about the time that Sernigi was penning his first letter, announced to the King and Queen of Spain the return (in part) of the expedition. This epistle sets forth an official programme for the evangelization of India:

“Your Highness may believe, in accordance with what we have learned concerning the Christian people whom these explorers reached, that it will be possible, notwithstanding that they are not as yet strong in the faith to do much in the service of God;—and when *they shall thus have been fortified in the faith there will be an opportunity of destroying Moors of those parts. Moreover, we hope with the help of God, that the great trade which now enriches the Moors of those parts—shall, in consequence of our regulations (ordenanços) be diverted to the nations and ships of our own Kingdom to the benefit of all Christendom in this part of Europe.*”

A month later Cardinal da Costa is informed, by our newly styled “Lord of Guinea” of the Conquest, the navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India; that “the king (of Quolicut) looks upon himself and the major part of his people as Christians.” When asking for “His Holiness’s renewed approval,” Manoel refers to the famous “Apostolical Grants” (by Alexander VI., in 1497) of “the lands conquered from the Infidels,” he to establish therein “the rule of the Christian religion.”

It will be helpful to compare Manoel’s *Instructions* to Cabral (on setting out early in 1500 accompanied by eight Franciscan Friars) with the monarch’s report (published in 1505) upon obedience rendered. The former direct that the Samuri be told of the Portuguese desire to know India:

“Chiefly for the Lord’s service, we having information that he and his subjects and sojourners in

his kingdom are Christians—of the sort with whom it were good to traffic,—these weaker brethren should be sought out that they become more intimately acquainted with the practice of our faith and accomplish the service of God and their own salvation.”—*Alg. Doc.* p. 97.

The latter document represents Calicut as

“a land peopled by idolaters, including king, gentlemen “called (*) Chaffer,” and “very chaste” Guzerates merchants sojourning there. These are whiter than the natives, (gentios) who are lecherous much given to sorcery and said to converse at will with the “spirits.” The great Spice Trade is carried on by Moors from Mecca, Turkey, Babylon, Persia, and other parts.”

Untoward events, involving the death of two Franciscans, showed that teachable Christians and lucrative trade must be sought elsewhere.

So Cabral betook himself to the rival kingdom of Cochin where he found:

“many Christians of the conversion of St. Thomas whose priests follow the apostolic life with much devotion and rigour: they have Churches where is only a cross, and celebrate with unleavened bread, and raisin wine.” He heard there of “Christians and men of all those nations” going to the miracle-working tomb of St. Thomas at Meliapur (near Madras). This agrees with Marco Polo’s “great multitude of Christians” and Saracens making pilgrimage thither. Among the Christian devotees were amber and porcelain merchants from the Ganges, “white men of light hair, green eyes, and very brave.”** Moreover they had found in this place

* ? *Kaffirs*, i.e. unbelievers or as natives of Surat called Portuguese “*Cafares*.”

** For the epithet “green-eyed” as applied to Manoel. See chap 2, p. 19.

two Christian priests who, with their superior, had been on a journey to Rome and Jerusalem, since they believe that the Church of St. Peter is better governed than their own."—Teix. 230-250.

It would not be fair to say that royal enthusiasm had cooled because, two years later, no such charge as that given to Cabral appeared in the Instrument of Government for chief captain Soares. D'Almeida being then Viceroy, burning of the ships with slaying of the crews was temporarily substituted for missionary enterprise. During times of comparative peace Albuquerque's policy implied non-interference as between Hindu and Moslem, whilst Manoel would have had him convert the former and destroy the latter, but before the zeal of a Xavier all obstacles become as tow. The Saint actually obtains from Manoel's successor authority to put to death the makers of images, and in accordance with Inquisition methods, proposed to him "a solemn oath affirming that every Governor who shall neglect to disseminate the knowledge of our most holy faith shall be punished"—by imprisonment and confiscation of goods

For the above quotation and for the substance of the following paragraph see History of Christian Missions, pp. 73, 74. By Canon C. H. Robinson, D.D.

CHRISTIANS of St. THOMAS. Although our diarist never uses this term, we have seen that among Europeans the native Christians were commonly accounted as "of the conversion of the apostle St. Thomas." Concerning a supposed visit the following can safely be said: "It is by no means inconceivable that St. Thomas extended his missionary activities from Parthia into North West India, but it seems certain he never visited Southern India."

Much legendary obscurity is due to a confusion of names, geographical and personal. Thus when Eusebius

(Church historian) states that a certain Pantaeus travelled from Alexandria to India and found there traces of apostolic labours the reference may be either to Southern Arabia or to the valley of the Indus. Other "Indias" include the country between that river and Persia, Arabia Felix and Abyssinia. Again the notion that St. Thomas was the founder of Christianity in Malabar is traceable to the coming (in the year 345) of a Bishop Thomas, with a large following, from Edessa.

Scattered notices of Christians in S. India suggest that during the Middle Ages outside (especially Persian) influence was strong, while their membership, including doubtless, *Pariah* converts was small and liable to persecution, but in the 15th century a Venetian traveller says:

"The body of St. Thomas reposes honourably in a large and beautiful Church, close to which dwell a number of Nestorian Christians who are also found disseminated all over India, just as Jews are found in Europe."—Hist: of 'Xtian Missions p. 68.

Varthema who went from Calicut to Cacolin, distant 50 leagues by river found "Christians of those of St. Thomas, some of whom are merchants keeping Easter like ourselves—they say mass like the Greeks,—every three years a priest was said to visit them from the Patriarch of Babylon."—Va. p. 180.

In the next decade Duarte Barbosa says the Christians of St. Thomas have a bishop and six priests from Armenia "to indoctrinate them in the Christian faith" which they only hold "in gross manner." *Malabar: Hak. Soc.* Here we recognise the drab colours in which Sernigi painted his co-religionists, yet the picture is not without promise, and to-day we reflect with interest that Southern India offers a clue to problems in religious unity.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS SEEMED IMPOSSIBLE. So, to avoid the crush, captain and followers were placed in a house, probably while measures could be concerted at the still distant palace, for presently *a lord of that land* and brother of the Bale was announced.

The procession reformed to the martial sound of drum, anafil, shawm, and more intimidating still, a *springard* "which one went firing in front of us"—*Ro. (*)*) There was every need for caution; two thousand encircling men-at-arms were but the nucleus of an unnumbered crowd that swarmed around or gazed from terrace, house and roof top.

Stern Vasco was moved in an unwonted degree, and said, laughingly to his companions, that in Portugal at that hour they little dreamed of the reception being accorded him as a chief and a lord. The diarist's exaltation is even greater, he positively chuckles: Does not the captain's treatment betoken higher respect "than they can show to a king in Spain?"

As they approached the precincts, an hour before sunset many honourable and great lords joined the throng. After a scuffle amounting to a fray, with one killed and several wounded, according to later reports, they pass the four courtyard doors and are led within by a Brahmin,

* Thus apparently anticipating our Portuguese explorers in the use of handguns—see chap. IX., page 124. The statement is repeated by Castanheda. Varthema (p. 273) in 1505 mentions 5 springards at Calicut, owned by Portuguese renegades who "made artillery" there for the Indians.

"An old man of small stature *who is like a bishop, and the King is guided by him in the affairs of the Church*, who embraced the captain at the entrance to 'this gateway.' Ro.

Varthema's (italicised) phrase is characteristic of a stricter ecclesiastical estimate:

"The palace of the king is about a mile in circumference, the walls are low, with very beautiful divisions of wood, *with devils carved in relief*. The floor of the house is all adorned with cowdung."

Doubtless this last condition would entail much labour in the dry season, but we need not take seriously Duarte's computation of a thousand waiting women "always at the court to sweep the palace and houses of the king and this he does for state, because fifty would be enough to sweep." Spare time was given to attracting admiration and swelling processions "with guns and other fireworks of various kinds."

The same authority depicts the palace as a hive of activity which contrasts strangely with the dilettantism of his "Indian Sardanapalus," in the presence of Europeans. A staff of writers sat on benches in a separate apartment to deal with affairs of revenue and with *complaints which are presented to the king—all this is on broad stiff leaves of the palm tree, without ink, with pens of iron—and amongst them are seven or eight who are great confidants of the king, and the most honoured, and who always stand before him with their pen in their arms, ready for the king's orders*. Seemingly for an unusual mental output royal nerves required a process resembling massage: "sometimes his confidential advisers are there rubbing his arms and legs or his body."

The later writers are ornate in their descriptions; thus for the diarist's little-court-yard (*patim*) is substituted a vast auditorium likened to a theatre, and in use,

no doubt, for more elaborate receptions than our unproved adventurers can expect. It is the same with the Raja's evasive person; tall, of noble mien, middle-aged, corpulent, dusky or dark like his own knot of hair, reclining on a canopied couch—he at one time appears in a cap of velvet set off by stones and plates of gold and a shirt of finest cotton; these the Malabar sovereigns alone may wear. Another time the body is half naked, presumably for the better display of jewelry: necklace of hazel-like pearls, ear-pendants, thumb-thick diamond attached to triple bracelet, rings that sparkle on fingers and toes.

“As soon as the captain entered he showed reverence according to the custom of that land, which is to put the hands together and raise them to heaven, as Christians are wont to raise them to God and as soon as they raise them they open them and shut the fists very suddenly.”

If the diarist's occupation corresponded with his tastes he may well have been assistant to Vasco's mysterious *Veador*. We have previously noted his keenness about matters of victualling. Here he is full of detail as to the royal manner of chewing betel nuts and of extending hospitality. He measures with his eye the golden goblet used as a spittoon and explains how the raja threw into it

“the husks of certain herbs which the men of this land eat for their soothing effect, the which herb they call Atambor.* And on the right side a basin

*A corruption of the Arabic *tambur*, the betel-nut. It is the fruit of Areca Catechu, and is chewed throughout India. Its juice discolours the teeth, but is said to make the breath sweet, and to be conducive to health. Usually it is cut into slices, which are wrapped up in a leaf of Betel-pepper (*Piper Betle*), and chewed with an admixture of lime and Catechu. See also *Ro* 164.

of gold so large that a man could only just get his arms round it," in which was the betel. The king having beckoned the captain aside ordered his companions to be seated on a bench. Water was brought for their hands and two kinds of fruit, the one "like melons except that outside they are rough, but inside they are sweet," the other "like figs and they taste very good, and we had men who were paring them, and the King talked with that intimate one who was at his side giving him those herbs to eat."

Varthema describes the latter fruit—plantain—in its several varieties, one being bitter, another like superior figs. The former, i.e. the Jack fruit, reminds him of musk melons, of very ripe Persian quinces, of prepared honey with a taste of oranges: *the best and most excellent fruit I ever ate.*

The raja's amusement was aroused by the stranger's attempt to eat and drink according to the custom of the land—which attempt led to much sputtering: he himself "drinks without the pitcher touching his mouth and the viands which they give him are done with so much pepper that no one from our parts could endure them in his mouth." (Du. p. 113 etc.)

This trivial incident roused the betel-chewing occupant of the dais to a lively interest in mundane affairs and Vasco was presently requested to deliver his message to the courtiers, men of distinction who would duly repeat it. The captain's answer, that his embassy was from king to king, being taken in good part, he (together probably with Fernão Martins as interpreter) was conducted to a chamber, here the raja joined him, bringing three necessary attendants, the head brahman, the betel carrier and the factor (*veador da fazenda*).

Asked why he had come to the country, Vasco said that he represented "a king of Portugal who was a lord of much land and was very rich in all things": his

predecessors had for sixty years been sending out ships "as they knew in those parts there were Christian Kings like themselves and for this reason they commanded that land be discovered and *not because gold or silver was necessary to him* (sic) *because he had such abundance that it was not necessary to obtain it from this land.*"

The italicised words seem redundant and awkwardly introduced—perhaps by some later hand. This conjuring with imaginary treasure is after the manner of Correa, yet even Barros allows our hero to admit a scarcity of spices in Portugal!

Vasco continues: whereas the former Captains had travelled for a year or two till provisions were exhausted, now a king whom they called Dom Manuel had commanded him to make these three ships and had appointed him as chief captain of them and had declared that he should not return to Portugal until he had discovered this king of the Christians, and that if he did return he would command his head to be cut off, and that if he found him he should give him two letters, which letters he would give him another day, and that he likewise commanded him to say that he was his brother and friend.

The raja was pleased with this declaration and replied favourably to a request that "men of the land" should accompany Vasco to Portugal as Ambassadors. This and other matters prolonged the interview until ten o'clock at night. Being asked whether he would prefer to lodge with *Christians* or with *Moors*, the captain expressed a decided preference for being by himself. When they had gone forth, accompanied by *endless people*, rain flooded the streets. The weary captain after traversing a great part of the Town, consented to rest awhile in the Moorish factor's torch-lit gallery but at the re-start, as on another occasion, he peremptorily refused to honour the custom of the land by riding bare-back.

At last the bedraggled party reached their destination to find men from the fleet already there with the captain's bed and bringing many goods from which he could select an offering for the King.

"On Tuesday the captain had these goods sent to the King, to wit, twelve lambels (striped cloth much used in the early South African coast trade), four scarlet hoods, six hats, four boughs of coral, and a bale of wash-hand basins in which there were six pieces, a case of sugar, and two barrels full, two of oil and two of honey."

According to custom he submitted these to the factor and the Bale who pooh-pooched the whole affair as unworthy the meanest merchant from Mecca or the Indies—the only suitable gift would be gold. On this the captain became dejected, saying he was no merchant to carry gold and silver, but an ambassador; this was his own private gift, not the king's. Even Correa does not give an impression of much beyond soft goods and state cabin upholstery, e.g. a brocaded chair, a gilt-tasselled cushion, and plated basin and ewer—but we may not omit his 50 Flanders knives in gilded sheaths, adorned with ivory-headed nails of Lisbon workmanship. Barros says the present consisted of things intended for the captain's own use, such as had escaped the damp of the sea. It was a mere after thought, accompanied by an explanation that Vasco had not really expected to reach India.

This suggestion is in a manner confirmed by Manoel. As regards the gold, spices, and precious stones brought, he says in his first letter, "they did not bring as much as they could have done, for they took no merchandise with them." One MS. adds: "nor such as suited"—this may refer to the requirements of the Indian Market (*Ra.*, 113, and n. 4); we have already seen how their commercial outfit proved inadequate even before the crossing of the great gulf.

Vasco could not get his present forwarded, nor was it easy to arrange a second interview. For a whole day he and his were kept waiting by officials:

"The captain, being greatly vexed at seeing himself among men so phlegmatic and so unreliable, was inclined to go to the palace without them, but considered it more advisable to wait till the next day. We, however, did not suffer ourselves to be depressed: we sang and danced to the trumpets and greatly enjoyed ourselves."

On Wednesday the captain's party were taken to the precincts where after four long hours outside a door that opened to the royal command, Vasco, Fernão Martins, and the mysterious Veador were alone privileged to enter.

The raja, knowing full well with whom lay the fault, began by saying he had expected his guest a day earlier. This drew from the captain a *diplomatic* lie: the road had wearied him! the next question as to why he had brought no token of the boasted wealth of the western kingdom, Vasco attempted to parry: his object was to make discoveries, but when other ships came it would be seen what they brought. To this the reply was a rapier-like thrust, followed by a pretty pass in the air:

The king then asked what it was he came to discover, stones or men? Since he had come to discover men, as he said, why did he not carry anything with him? Furthermore, people told him that he was carrying a Santa Maria of gold. The captain said that the Santa Maria he was carrying was not of gold, and that even if it were of gold he would not give it away, for it was carrying him across the sea and would carry him to his own land.

A compatriot of the diarist who elsewhere stints no praise is aggrieved that such a tale "with all the signs of falsity" should be told of this venerated monarch, making him excel in impudence, a kinglet of Hotentocia.

"The incident has its parallel, if we allow a degree of superstition to the Hindu equal to that in the Portuguese. It is related of a hereditary ruler in North India that Akbar himself revered the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin when they were shown to him by the missionaries, and solicited permission, reluctantly accorded, to retain them in his palace for a single night."*

But in our diarist's "rude narrative" no request is preferred, the royal breast is animated neither by lust nor by zeal, but by mischievous desire to make game of ponderous Gama. A like vein of sarcasm appears in a later report, with puzzled and gloomy look he spoke of information received from Mombaga and Quiloa that the captain and his men were no better than sea robbers, whom, however, His Highness would graciously pardon on confession! This accusation Vasco is supposed to confute in a speech which (says he) had not been so long had it not been genuine. Camoens, who quotes this dubious argument, gives us the gist of this oration in half a stanza:

"For if I only did o'er Ocean roam,
Pirate, or banished from my native land,
How thinkest thou I should so far have come
To seek this all remote and unknown strand?"

The poet however omits Vasco's not very discreet peroration to the effect that, if persisted in, these calumnies will certainly be avenged: for the Portuguese are not in the habit of taking affronts lightly. Least of all "from this unworthy sect."

The raja having twice enquired about that long promised letter from the king of Portugal to himself, it

* One of these missionaries would be a nephew of Francis Xavier. In 1610 he baptised three princes of the royal blood of Lahore—see Elphinstone *Hist. of Japan*, Vol: II. 323; quoted in *Hist.: of Xtian Missions*. 77.

was produced, signed and sealed, with an Arabic duplicate. Of its contents we know nothing except that they satisfied the recipient. Correa said it was a forgery, concocted by the captains; but it is unlikely that they did more than fill in the title of the Great Unknown.

On being questioned further as to the products of his country, Vasco spoke with comparative moderation, of corn, cloth, iron, bronze, and other things in abundance. He had with him samples of merchandise and if allowed to return to his ships would leave four or five companions in pledge for their delivery.

But the raja was now all condescension. No! Let him take all aboard, find fit anchorage, land his merchandise and sell it to the best advantage.

It was late when the Portuguese reached their lodgings. Next morning they started for Pandarani; but as Vasco was accommodated with "a horse of the country" i.e. *asandas*, the companions got left behind and wandered far inland. A later account says that Vasco was treacherously taken along a lonely river bank. The diary simply brings the stragglers back, to find him at a traveller's rest-house. They did not reach the village of Pandarani until after sunset and were told it was too late, possibly too stormy, to embark. The captain protested vehemently to the Bale and others; it was ill done of them to detain him "a Christian like themselves." They professed willingness to provide thirty almadias if necessary and proceeded along the shore with negative result, except that the party acquired a keen relish for their supper, purchased in the village by Vasco, whose own appetite was sadly affected — though one authority allows him to join them with a cheerful countenance at the next evening meal, of the same kind and purchased in the same way. The captain is said to have offered heroically to remain whilst his companions returned to the ships,

as otherwise they must die of hunger. Hereupon he was told that if they were to die of hunger they must compose themselves to it!

Undoubtedly the companions were in a tight corner. They were closely watched. When a message was got off to warn Coelho against hovering within the danger zone, the thing became known and he was chased by almadias but escaped. Twice it was proposed that Vasco should request Paulo to bring the ships nearer. The first time he declared that such an order, by making known his imprisonment, would cause the brother to set sail at once for Portugal. He, Vasco, would then go to King Camolin who was a Christian like himself and if the king wished him to stay in his country he would have much pleasure in doing so. His second reply was to the effect that neither his brother nor those with him would consent to die. The friendly Monçaide could only (according to Correa) venture to say to Fernao Martins, in passing "sufrir y callar"—suffer and be silent,—Vasco found it difficult to put this advice into practice.

According to later reports, on being asked to beach the ships either because the king implied as much when he commanded the captain to dispose of them suitably, or because of the menace to peaceful inhabitants of the port, our captain deemed it sufficient to reply that his were vessels of deep draught. But when impudence culminated in a demand for the delivery of sails and rudders his sole response was unaccustomed laughter!

Correa is by way of explaining the brothers' true sentiments: when Vasco required that, detention proving permanent, Paulo should take home information, the latter replied: "Without him he would not leave the port; and for this he would spend his life and his ships for all the crews were ready to die together for this matter."

Paulo called a council on board and told them "he knew the temperament of his brother, who would give a

At which thing we all rejoiced very much, and we gave many thanks to our Lord for taking us from among such men who are no more capable of reason than beasts.

Long and elaborate explanations of this *brutality* have been concocted, the *Moors* are supposed to prevail with the too facile Samorin, producing frowns for smiles as soon as the witchery of our captain's presence is withdrawn. With their own interpretation of royal ambiguities they hasten to that venal official, the Hindu and Bale. Heavy bribes instruct him in his part, viz.: that of insulting and if possible goading the fiery Vasco to a desperate, it may be fatal, resistance.

It is as easy to belittle as to belaud. If our hero has been mispraised by being dubbed a diplomatist, yet one point must be conceded, his manly bearing in presence of the Samorin and his "two o'clock in the morning courage" reach heroic level. Even in the view of practised extortioners nothing is to be gained by holding to ransom a leader who can rejoice that:

"Though in chains I stand my fleet is free."

CHAPTER XIV.

BROKEN SNARES.

Nor wanted proof of India's store,

.
The burning pepper, and the sable clove;
The clove, whose odour on the breathing gale,
Far to the sea, Molucca's plains exhale;
All these, provided by the faithful Moor.
All these, and India's gems, the navy bore:
The Moor attends, Mozaide, whose zealous care
To Gama's eyes unvail'd each treach'rous snare.

Lus. IX., p. 261. Mic.

THE FURTHER DEALINGS between Vasco and the Samorin are certainly on no high level. Diogo the cheerful, de Braga the Berrio's clerk, and probably friend Martins as interpreter, were well chosen to be left in charge of merchandise. But they seem to have been handicapped from the first, no more goods being landed after Vasco went aboard. It must have been depressing when some 7 or 8 merchants, sent by the Samorin with a view to purchase, stayed for over a week and cheapened the goods without buying.

Of course the *Moors* came but to depreciate. At this time, the crafty ruler sent 'an honoured man' to bide

with the factor, under orders to slay without hesitation anyone of them who approached. That this official spy would venture, even with a personal pledge of security, to act in defiance of local custom (see page 75 Ro.) was less likely than that he and his truculent nairs would find occasion to assassinate their wards. However, the Moslems, whenever a stranger landed, had to content themselves with spitting on the ground and saying Portugal! Portugal!

Our diarist makes an artless attempt to excuse the Hindu Raja at the expense of 'merchants from Mecca and from many other parts *who knew us.*' They represented that the presence of these notorious *thieves* would scare orthodox traders. Heavy bribes were offered to his Highness on condition 'that he would capture and kill us that we might not be able to return to Portugal.' The virus of religious and commercial jealousy was working, but reports of an actual plot came only through the garrulous Monçaide, except for the assertion of the *Christians* that if the captains came ashore without gold their heads would be cut off!!

The merchandise was now removed to Calicut in hopes of a better sale.

But henceforth Diogo and his men were more closely guarded. For a while there was free intercourse between the crews and the low caste natives. Commendable self-restraint was exercised by the rough sailors in dealing with these children of all ages:

"There came many men to the ships to sell fish for bread and they were received by us very sociably, and many others came with their sons and with youngsters and the captain ordered that they should be fed...and of these there were so many that they used to weary (or, disgust) us, as many times the darkness of night had come on before we could be quit of them from the ships. And the cause of this was the great number of

people and the scarcity of provisions in this land. And if at any time it happened that some of our men went to mend sails and carried biscuits to eat, there were so many of them, both youngsters and big men, that they took it out of their hands and at last they (the sailors) did not eat any of it.

The crews now went ashore in routine; a man from each ship; and in this manner all were able to see the city and each one bought what he wished, who, when they were on the road, received from all the Christian people much hospitality, everyone rejoicing greatly when anyone came to his house to eat or to sleep; and of all that they had they gave them with much goodwill.....All that were in the ships went, *as I have told you* by twos and threes, and each one carried with him of that which he had, such as bracelets and linen garments and pewter, and shirts, each one as he had it."

Private resources only sufficed to obtain by barter a small quantity of cloves, cinnamon and precious stones. Their goods proved of little worth, e.g. a very fine linen shirt was reckoned, from Moçambique onwards, at about a sixth of its home value.

Correa's account of loading ships with spices according to Indian method is instructive. Pepper must go below all other goods. Ginger was smeared over with red clay—this being done too freely in the case of our Expedition! Ships' workmen prepared pitch for the rafters and planks, covering all with matting that the spices might not spoil by mixing. Cinnamon, bulky but of little weight, went on top. Alas! 'the cloves were all stick, and the nutmegs half rotten; but the captain praised all,' so the *Moors* and *Gentiles* imagined the strangers too simple to perceive the cheat.

Yet our author is on the wrong tack when he represents the captains as being content with half cargoes, 'for the masters said so they sailed very well, because

the ships were old and would not have been safe if fully laden.' The two chief vessels had been specially built for this Expedition and all were at the time seaworthy. Moreover it is unlikely that, in view of limited means, Vasco would attempt to carry more than specimens of the various spices and drugs. Indeed, as L. Coelho (II 234) puts it, 'of that which the Portuguese were able to purchase in Calicut, almost furtively with the help of Monçaide, they took home sufficient to convince the incredulous that they had reached their goal.'

Presently though all communication with the ships was forbidden by proclamation, it appeared certain that Diogo and his helpers were prisoners. Moreover the Raja was suspected of an attempt to detain his visitors, on one pretext or another, until the arrival of a powerful fleet from Mecca. Lastly, it was now the end of August and the close of their stay of about one hundred days brought more favourable weather. So the chief received the other captains into his confidence with the result that:—

'We set sail forthwith and took the route for Portugal, all returning very cheerful because of having so well adventured in finding so great a thing as we had found.'

The poet with imitative harmony and the poet's most painstaking translation have reproduced the bustle of departure:

Mas já nas náos os bons trabalhadores
 Vovem o cabrestante, e, repartidos
 Pelo trabalho, huno puxam pela amarra,
 Outros quebram co'o peito duro a barra:

But now on board hard labourers around
 The capstan turn, and each in his degree
 Works well; some, hauling in the cable, strive;
 Others with hardy breasts the handles drive;

Some, hanging on the yards, unfurl the sail
 Which, 'midst loud cries, expands the wind before;
 But louder cries unto the King prevail,
 Telling the fleet in haste was leaving shore;
 The wives and children, with distracted wail,
 The Samorin for those detained implore.

The proclamation had been in force for 2 days; then the ships were visited daily by merchants and sight-seers who were fed and suffered to depart. By and by there came some eighteen at once; among whom were persons of standing. Vasco retained all and wrote to the Samorin offering to exchange them for his factors. Neither this letter nor one threatening to cut off the captives' heads, produced so much effect as the above outcry. Our ruler makes a camelion-like change, diverting enough to the quickwitted Diogo who is now received with great complaisance. *The bad face* of a former interview has transformed itself into smiles and their talk is of freedom. At the same time a letter is forwarded to the captain, inscribed by Diogo himself with iron pen upon a palm-leaf. Its purport only is vouched for, probably the compliments, as from king to king, occupied a separate leaf.

'Vasco da Gama a fidalgo of your house came to my land, at which I was well pleased. In my land there is much cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and many precious stones, and that which I desire of thine is gold and silver and coral and scarlet cloth.'

After further palaver Diogo and his friends were allowed to go on board, while the Samorin was to protect the merchandise. Vasco, contrary to his agreement, insisted on returning a third of the prisoners.

One morning there came to the ships a refugee whose ecstatic manner proclaimed him as Monçaide—he had lost all—worse might happen—such was his luck—accounted a spy under orders from the Portuguese king,

he went in daily fear of his life. Vasco received him as a person of uncommon usefulness, a kind of commercial Achates (*vide* Camoens), carrying him to Portugal where he turned Christian: his end was accounted *happy*,

Far didst thou from thy friends and stranger roam,
There wast thou call'd to thy celestial home.

'Two days later (Aug. 30) as the fleet lay, becalmed at noon, about a league to the north of Calicut, there came to us about 70 barcas* with an endless number of people, and they wore in front a protection of red cloth folded, like a stuffed skin, very strong. These are their arms for the body and for the hands and for the head (how these arms are made has remained on the point of the pen of the author of this book).** And as anyone of these ships came within bombard range they fired upon it, now from the chief captains ship and again from the other ships. And they were coming after us for about an hour and a half. They being thus behind us, there came upon us a thunderstorm that took us out to sea and when they saw that they could now effect nothing they returned to the land and we followed our way.'

Did the Indian weapons come into play on this occasion? Clearly the Portuguese were disinclined for

* Castenheda, Barros, and Correa use the word Toney or Doney (see Yule). Originally formed at least the lower part from a single tree, it became something more than a skiff. Probably these vessels varied much in size, as did the diarist's Zavras (one holding 100 armed men). Later on they will be 70 feet long and ark-like!

** This note suggesting that the diarist forgot to state particulars is by a copyist and in the same handwriting as the rest of the M.S. But it seems quite possible that 'These' refers to what has just been described. If so, there is no omission: the diarist has in mind only defensive armour, the folded cloth being used for cuirass, headgear, and gloves.

risk, we are told of no casualties and in any case bombards will not give the final salute. Progress was still interrupted by calms and Vasco has been represented as ill at ease. Haply, he paced the deck with thoughts a trifle disconcerting. Had he not been hasty and at times overbearing towards his natural ally, the Hindu ruler, thereby promoting *Moorish* designs for keeping them apart? Action brings relief to his hesitating mind. Of the six prisoners one who has lost an eye shall be bearer of a letter to the Samorin, explaining the retention of the other five (to be duly returned) and expressing a hope that friendly relations may ultimately be established.

Mickle cannot allow the 'Demonstration in force' to pass unsung. Through 300 lines of original composition he develops it into a first-class sea fight. The *Moorish* attack in crescent form and in close array. As to the weapons employed there is no longer any doubt: his spears are brass-tipped and his black winged arrows cloud the sky in successive flights. Yet these avail not against Gama's mimic thunder and lightning, followed by a very genuine storm.

'Then alone of all that brave fleet,
Far at sea some few torn galleys fled,
Calicut's 'proud domes' are wrapped in sulphurous
shower and worse may be expected,
For gunners pale with rage,
Gnaw their blue lips, impatient to engage,
Ranged by their brazen tubes, the thund'ring band
Watch the first movement of my brother's hand;

E'en now, impatient, o'er the dreadful tire
They wave their eager canes betipp'd with fire;'

That that hand was never raised: panting nostril and
trembling knees showed Paulo's little need of Coelho's

chiding. He awaited the moment fixed by Vasco for avenging his loss. But submission stayed destruction:

‘The Lusian standard o’er the palace flowed.

— — — — —
 Elate with joy, the shouting thousands trod
 And Gama to his fleet triumphant rode.’

To instance but one injustice done to the historic sense by Mickle’s forceful lines—Vasco was safe in his flag ship at the time of this encounter!

Camoens ignores the incident? Temperament and the vision of that beloved one* who inspired *The Lusiads* here leads him to indulge—by way of episode—in a confessed fancy:

‘Cyprus’ goddess prepared for them, upon the way
 Of the vast sea, some island all divine,
 Adorned, enamelled, and in green array:

— — — — —
 She wills the nymphs of ocean should be there,

— — — — —
 All those who have the title to be fair.’

The poet’s detailed description of delights, intended to recreate our heroes in the midst of physical toil, was nervously defended by Mickle after being condemned as sensual by Voltaire. In this connection it suffices to reflect rash Velloso is a leader in the love strife or that Cupid is for the nonce in accord with his mother!

But the nation’s poet has weightier matters to reveal; a prophetic Siren de-scants upon the toils of later heroes and bids the adventurers

New Eastern regions contemplate,
 Which now upon the world ye shall bestow.
 Briefly, and with ever favouring winds, he hastens
 the return.

*Or of *Barbora*, an Indian enchantress who about this time moved him to lyrical expression. See Vasco, Page 265, K. G. Jayne.

Until there hove in sight that land again
 Where they were born, their ever fond desire.
 (sempre desejado).

We must now take leave of our always companionable poet whose concluding stanzas form a patriotic yet mistaken appeal to the rash young king Sebastian urging an imitation of the early heroes. The death of Sebastian and with him the disappearance of Portugal's chivalry brought about that temporary eclipse and permanent loss which Camoens foresaw when, nearing his own end, he said of his country: "I shall not only die in it, but with it."

Still the wind was feeble and our voyagers spent more than thirty days on the Malabar coast, five of them at Anjediva, 'beautiful and salubrious,' or at the five adjacent islands. One of these has been suggested as Venus' isle but the poet is content to say 'twas near the Garden of Eden. Moreover the Anjedives, far from being fairy haunts were infested by pirate vessels—one of these Vasco took and burnt though offered a price for its redemption.

At this time there landed—beside the St. Gabriel which was being careened—a man whose subsequent career will bring honourable employment at the hand of Manoel. But his chief gratitude will be reserved for another: 'Finally, he was baptised, and named Gaspar taking as surname Gama, on account of Vasco da Gama who brought him to that state' (B quoted by St.). Clad in linen with an uncommonly fine touca on his head and a short sword in his girdle this fine gentleman embraced all three captains, and in very good Venetian, told how coming from the Levant in early youth he had remained at heart a Christian and was eager to get a sight of the newly arrived Francks. His master, the governor of Goa, had now sent him to offer every hospitality.

Vasco, accepting all in good faith thanked him heartily and ordered his modest request for a cheese to be granted with the addition of two soft loaves. But he remained on the island talking so much and about so many matters that his words jostled one another. So Paulo slipped away to interview the *Christians* in whose vessel he had come; they denounced him as a privateer, his fleet being about to attack. He was, therefore, taken aboard and stripped by Vasco's order, two cabin boys giving him many stripes with cords, 'Oh gentlemen' said he, 'noble Christians, God protect you and me!' Presently, the confessed Jew speaks: 'Have pity on me and my white beard.' Further 'Questioning' or a prospect of being flogged to death accompanied by the well known dropping of hot fat upon the skin, or again, Vasco's *great oaths* with the offer of flaying alive—these alternatives (of Correa's!) seem to have conquered his natural eloquence and by signs he admitted to being a spy. Perchance he merely pointed towards Goa, whence he had set out; for even in those days it was earning a repute as 'a mother to the vilest rogues and a step-mother to men of honour.'* Later on, he revealed his master's intention to forestall, by means of forty armed vessels, the capture by pirates 'because we were valiant men he would fain employ us in his wars with neighbouring kings.'

Legend describes the *Sabaio* of Goa as son of a Turkish Sultan (!) who seeking his fortunes in India and sold as a slave was given, after many adventures, the island of Goa on condition of waging perpetual war against Narsinga, greatest of Hindu kings. Hence his desire for the services of the Portuguese. But as the diarist puts it: 'this reckoning was made without host.'

* This gibe, in a letter of 1555 was followed by satires in which Camoens "delighted all who failed to recognise their own purports." (See Vasco and his successors; pages 250 and 251 K. G. Jayne.)

CHAPTER XV.

WE NOW COME to the most tragic incidents of this voyage, whether our gaze is fixed on recurrent physical suffering and fatalities or on the anguish of survivors. Again the diarist would seem to be pouring his woes into a sympathetic ear:

'This passage took so long that we expended over it three months less three days. (Oct. 5 to Jan. 2.) In it we found many calms of contrary winds, with the result that all the people suffered from their gums, which grew over their teeth in such manner that they were not able to eat, and in the same way the legs swelled and there were other great swellings throughout the body, so that they spread over a man to such an extent that he died without having any other sickness. From which there died in the said time thirty of our men apart from thirty others who had died before. And they who navigated each ship were seven or eight men; and even these were not as sound as they might have been. Wherefore, I assure you if that weather had lasted for us fifteen days in crossing this sea, there would not have been one to navigate the ships. To such a pass had we come that everything was *mixed*,* and as we went thus in this affliction we made many promises to the Saints and petitioners on behalf of the ships, and the captains had already agreed in council that if a suffi-

* The 1st printed edition, evidently reproducing the M.S. as *composto*; the 2nd suggests 'Perhaps *descomposto*, i.e. confused, without discipline—hence probably Dr. Ravenstein's 'all bonds of discipline had gone.'

cient wind should help us, we return to the land of India whence we set out, seeking again its shelter.

But it pleased God in his mercy to give us such a wind that in about six days we found the land, at which we rejoiced as greatly as if it were Portugal; for we hoped by the help of God to recover there as we had done the other time.

The diarist does not assert that a mutinous spirit was displayed. His reference may well be to the confusion inevitable when each one, including the commander, adds another man's job to his own, or again to the deplorable state of the lower decks, where water had to be doled out to sick folk, not to speak of medical comforts which Paulo had no longer strength to administer.

Later tradition supported by but one authority,** tells how when clamorous shouts demanded a return to Calicut, Vasco protested that the winds would yet turn in his favour. True he had left the infested Anjediva coast in haste on October the 5th (Friday!) but he had heard that the North East monsoon was due at the close of the month. The pilots professing belief to the contrary, Vasco undertook their office; presently when open rebellion was threatened, he apprehended their persons. Has the usually careful Castanheda borrowed at large from 'the many copies' of the Priest's torn book or notes so diligently consulted by Correa? But the last named himself confounds confusion by fetching our voyagers at a later stage, back to Anjedive, in face of prevailing winds!

Their compatriot has an eloquent appreciation of the well nigh desperate condition of the Portuguese during these famous and prolonged wanderings: sport of the wind, twice victims of disease, emaciated and haunted

** Cas. Liv. 1, chap. XXVII. (see Coel II, page 244 n. and Stan. page 253 n.)

by a doubt of ever returning. He ends on a high but plaintive note: those three score whom they left to ocean burial are 'proto-martyrs of our ephemeral conquest and lordship in the seas and in the lands of the Orient.'

But surely, whether alone in the desert, or banded with others for a set purpose or as belonging to a nation impelled by the necessity for progress, the Pioneer cannot be fully justified until, it may be after the lapse of centuries, his work is viewed in relation to the good of all Humanity.

It was a night (Jan. 2nd, 1499) that they, as it were, stumbled across the African coast:

And when it was morning we went to seek the land in order to know where Our Lord had cast us; for there was not now the pilot or any man that knew how to prick the chart so as to know in what latitude we were.

Unexpectedly they found themselves opposite a large Arab town, Magadoxo (Mukhdisho) with high houses, great palaces, that evidently looked defiance, for the fleet could not pass without a salute of bombards which according to later report did much damage. The like welcome awaited a pirate from Pate island (26° 5'S.) who with his armed barcas thought to take advantage of the helplessness of the *S. Raphael* as its ties were being repaired after a thunderstorm.

By day they went forward, but lay to at night, for fear of over-running 'Milingue whither we greatly desired (desejavamos) to go.' When on Monday, Jan. 5th, they reached its anchorage, greetings were mutual. Our regent had been expecting them and 'embraced the captains as if they had been his brothers.' Paulo spoke wistfully of the Future: "Sire we and those who descend from us will forever be under greater obligations to you than any men ever owed to a ruler"—Cor. Camoens must have had this speech in mind when, not perhaps

without irony, he put into Vasco's mouth* a confession that repayment of the debt was beyond human endeavour:

'Oh, may that high divine eternity

.....

Pay thee as we ourselves can never do!'

According to our diary the regent's friendly even *courtly* communications appear to have been entirely conducted by envoys. A characteristic gift of sheep was followed by oranges for which the sick had a great longing and many other fruits, also fowls and eggs for exchange. Coelho was not forgotten; moreover, it was happy forethought that sent 'a large jar of ginger preserved with sugar, for the captain major, and another for Paulo da Gama, which they were to eat at sea when they were cold—Cor.

Vasco, whose appetite for favours was not readily appeased: 'seeing how he showed us such great attention at the time when it was so necessary to us,' sent a present—an enamelled dagger of his own (says Correa), by the hand of one who talked Arabic. At the same time the regent was asked for an ivory tusk for the king of Portugal and for permission to erect a pillar. Both requests were granted. A letter on a leaf of gold and a young *Moorish* envoy to the king of Portugal were sent as proof added to proof that his friendship was desired by Melinde's ruler. As an emblem of foreign interference Vasco's pillar proved *a stone of stumbling* to the neighbouring people of Mombaca. The existing monument probably on the same site, near the extreme of the cliffy point south of the town, is about 18 ft. high and has a sandstone cross with the arms of Portugal, weather worn and very ancient.**

* At the time of the former visit—Lus. II clv.

** See Af. Pilot Pt. 111, page 414. Our illustration is from *Ro.* page 90.

Here they buried those who fell victims to the climate or had arrived in a dying condition. Yet the diarist strikes a cheerful note 'We remained five days at this place enjoying ourselves, and reposing from the hardships endured during a passage in the course of which all of us had been face to face with death (*ouveramos de morrer*)'—Ra.

The impossibility of navigating three ships with depleted numbers compelled our captain to seek again the Tamugate shore. Here the *S. Raphael* was burnt, her contents being transferred and the figure head became an heirloom in the da Gama family.

Wishful to continue a brotherly partnership in honour and to return the archangel's protection, Vasco is said to have carried this emblem of humanity on his two subsequent voyages to the Orient. Paulo was now received on board the *S. Gabriel*.

Steering South, they found on their left side Marco Polo's 'great and noble island' Zanghibare (Jamgiber Ro), with its naked aborigines boasting frizzly hair as black as pepper. Well watered and well wooded, its witching scenery was reflected in the mild-mannered *Moors*, more prone to traffic than to fight. Later reports provisioned the fleet and concluded an Alliance between Vasco and the Sultan.

At *S. George* (Feb.) they were unable to complete the erection of a Pillar, the tropical downpour frustrating every attempt to light a fire for melting the lead to fix the cross.

A month later they reached, in a very different climate, their last place of call—it being found impossible to put in for the *Degradados* left on the outward journey. At the watering-place of S. Bras they caught and salted for the voyage many seals and penguins, also much fish of another kind. The captain is said to have ordered

the hearing of masses by all, that with 'tender contrition' the stiffest fighters might approve themselves eager 'husbandmen of the heavenly riches'—*Coel.* Here our diarist limits himself to matters culinary: they caught and salted for the voyage many seals and penguins, also much fish!*

On the 12th May they proceeded some thirty or forty miles but were met by the strong sou' wester which in opposition to the current means perilous voyaging at this time of year. They were fortunate in regaining their sheltered bay.

The check did not in the end prove serious. Rather, to our simple, honest, seamen it would appear as though some mysterious hindrance being removed they were now free to enter, with happy omen, upon the last stage of their Glorious Adventure:

'As the weather was calm we set forth again and Our Lord gave us such a good wind that on the 20th day of the said month (Ap. 1499) we passed by the Cape of Good Hope. And those that came as far were in good health and robust, and yet at times fairly dead (*bem mortos*) with cold of great *bisas* (?gales south easters) which we experienced in that land.' 'But,' as our diarist puts it with studied moderation, 'we attributed this more to having come from a hot land than to the cold being very great.'

The disappearance of the Cape's Guardian Spirit, so much in evidence on the outward voyage, is quaintly recorded by L. Coelho: 'As if already domesticated, submissive and quasi Portuguese, the truculent Adamastor, after such a novel, unheard of and heroic enterprise, dared not disturb the peaceful return of the immortal naviga-

* For the *Achoa* the 2nd printed edition suggests *Enxova* anchovies. A great variety of fish visit the Bay according to the season.

tors. Thence, he plunging into the sea, the ships pursued their course!

One century later it was suggested by John Pory concerning the 'tempestuous Cape,' so named 'by reason of the ruffling and the poring of the windes' that perhaps the Portuguese to terrify all others from sailing to the East Indies have made the 'doubling thereof and the crossing over of these seas a matter of far greater difficulty and danger than it is of late manifestly found to be.' The reference is clearly to Francis Drake who with his company ran hard aboard the Cape and passed it on June the 18th, 1578, loudly protesting against their most false accounts of it as 'the most dangerous Cape of the world.' In words that will resound when echoes of this controversy have ceased, he says further to his countrymen: "This Cape is a most stately thing and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth."

The Portuguese would be loth to impart a knowledge of their own uncommonly accurate chart work and were doubtless tempted to romance concerning fresh difficulties encountered when they sailed further south. But, alas! there was little need to exaggerate! Modes of expression have changed. Demon gave place to Devil and the latter—will he not presently retire to the Table Mountain fastnesses, there to smoke an unending pipe or don a night cap or spread a cloth or light a phantom ship, according to the vagaries of Dutch legend? Such phantasies have in their turn for the most part vanished. Yet even to-day it is not possible for the most prosaic of modern reports to dissolve real terrors into thin air. The following from the *African Pilot* (chap. 3 p. 3) reads like a sentence of Doom: 'Exposed to the swell of the Southern Ocean the sea breaks heavily on the whole of this iron-bound coast, and a vessel touching on any part of it has not the slightest chance of escaping destruction.'

Correa speaks of a Passing so peaceful that pilots took many observations: 'Seeing the Cape remain behind they embraced each other with great joy, they all knelt down with their hands raised up to Heaven uttering great praise and prayers.' Vasco reminded the master and pilot and seamen of the iron chains in which they must appear before the king, upbraiding them thus 'what do you say of the great shame with which you covered yourselves?' To this only one mariner replied, João Dameiroeiro, his name deserves record for a unique staging of Marcus Aurelius philosophy on board ship. 'Sir, we acted according to what we are, you acted like as you are.' Simple in word and feeling is the diarist's account of homeward progress:

"We followed our way with a great desire of arriving, and came with wind astern which lasted us about seven and twenty days, so that it carried us to the neighbourhood of the Island of Santiago, which in the sea charts we made out to be at most a hundred leagues and according to some it was close by; here the said wind died down and such as remained with us was very little and in front, and because we had knowledge of where we were by means of some thunderstorms which came to us from the land, we plied to windward as much as we could. The squalls here indicated had been met with in the same latitudes during the outward voyage (see chap. IV. p. 44) perhaps as they are now at the commencement of the rainy season, these would be less violent if more frequent."

Disappointment would be general on finding themselves off the Rio Grande, an arm of the sea between the mainland and the Bissagos:

"On Thursday the 25th day of the month of April we found a depth of 30 and 5 fathoms and all the day we kept on that course, and the least depth was 20 fathoms, we could not get sight of land and the pilot said that we were at the Shallows of the Rio Grande."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE RETURN.

*Thus went they ploughing with appeased mien
 With always prosp'rous gale, and always fair;
 Till sight long wisht, much long'd for, they obtain
 Of that dear earth where first they breathed the air.
 Sweet Tagus's mouth they enter once again:
 Where to their King and Master (whom they fear
 And love) for having sent them, the renown
 They give, and add new tithes to his Crown.*

Fanshaw.

What of our diarist who so tantalisingly leaves off his story at these shoals of Rio Grande—Was his quota no longer produced now that Paulo was no longer at hand? The question suggests a mild censorship of this semi-official diary. If such existed it must have concerned itself mainly with deleting glorifications of the chief command or with reciting any harrowing details of the sailor's life and death. Be it confessed however that our recorder shows scant acquaintance with the man before the mast. His maritime information was derived from the pilots and, in some degree, from serving-men's chat, yet without any trace of flunkeyism.

All this is as we choose to picture it! Henceforth without authentic guidance in determining dates and events of some antiquarian interest, everyone has felt at liberty

to take his own course. Here it will suffice to seek clear outlines and to dwell briefly upon the closing scenes of this tale of mingled joy and sorrow.

A thunderstorm off the Cape Verdes separated Coelho, who was leading, from his commander. After a day spent on the lookout Vasco put in at Santiago. Here as the *S. Gabriel* was leaky, he gave her over to João de Sa to have repairs effected. He himself hired a caravel hoping for a rapid passage home. But he was obliged to stop short at the Azores, owing to the advanced stage of Paulo's consumption, probably at this time aggravated by fever. He 'began to ail ever since he passed the Cape, and off Guinea, he took to his bed, and never rose again from it.'—Co.

They landed at Terceira, the chief of the group in the Bay of Angra, with its southward aspect, here was an ideal resting place, tradition said that it had been acquired without shedding of blood. The island climate, mild, and pure not to speak of refreshing supplies of citrus fruit, may have benefited others who now arrived in a sickly condition. But for Paulo, only the sympathy of the monastic community of S. Francis would be of any avail; indeed, he lived for but one day after they came ashore. Vasco says Correa, "bemoaned the death of his good brother with very great regret and affliction, for he loved him much." Most agree in crediting this love to Vasco, for righteousness, yet, says the detractor, "Given such an elder brother, how could it be otherwise with the younger?"

Stately funeral rites, arranged with the monastic community of S. Francis, and more obscure matters, hindered Vasco's approach to home waters in a manner puzzling to the historians. Meanwhile, Arthur Rodriguez, a resident of Terceira, had ascertained that the sails arriving at Terceira were from India and hastened to Cintra, to secure the reward of good news. He found Manoel at

Cintra, at one hour past midnight, as he was going to sup. The king received him as a gentleman of his household and his son as a page of the chamber—giving him 100 crusados on the spot.

Coelho, after long delay, crossed the Lisbon bar, expecting to find Vasco ahead of him. Yet some suppose that he too sought out a special reward. Hearing nothing of his Commander he would fain have put back to search for him, but was checked by the king. Next, de Sa brought along the S. Gabriel.

Not before Aug. 29th, 1499, a much disputed date, did Vasco reach Belem. In the hermitage of our Lady of the seas, he offered his adoration for her protection and no doubt proceeded to celebrate masses for his brother. After 9 days a noble deputation accompanied him to Lisbon. The way was thronged by multitudes who had supposed, when Coelho and de Sa arrived without him, that the admiral had perished at sea. Yet the cost in human life had been quite too terrible. Of 148 who set forth 2 years and 2 months before only 55 returned (Goa). According to less unfavourable but less reliable figures half had perished on the way.

We now enter the Court under the guidance of ever-romancing Correa, against whose evidence (as in the case of our Dickens), there lies, spiritually speaking, but one appeal: Is he true to his own child-like view of human nature?

Vasco appears in suitable costume, closely fitting tunic of silk in a round cap or berretta and wearing his beard very long, for he had never cut it since his departure (!) Coelho plays his part: stepping on to the Queen's dais he opens the chest of necklaces, jewels and stuffs from the kings of Cananor and of Melinde; the letters on leaves of gold, and the piece of ambergris which the Queen valued most. Clanking in their golden chains come the pilot

and other mutinous ones, delivered according to promise—now set free and rewarded.

Instinct enabled Correa to speak of Vasco's private feelings towards Paulo and he is equally apt, so to speak, in staging the younger brother at court. We recognise the restraint of a mourner when, formally presented to the king, he exclaims: "Sire, all my hardships have come to an end at this moment!" Manoel detects the undertone of sadness, and urges him to console himself for the loss of that elder brother. Nor is it fitting that rewards, at this first interview be mentioned.* Next morning we have the suggestive greeting. "Dom Vasco da Gama, you have rested too little!" The still sorrowful Vasco makes suitable reply to this mark of honour from the only man living whom he truly revered.

General processions of Thanksgiving would be made more impressive when preachers enlarged upon the Papal Bull that gave a key to Heaven to all who died in these Crusades. Surviving mariners gathered at the Capital, would prove good advertisements, e.g. the veteran d'Alenquer** who had long been allowed a coat of arms and to disport himself in garments of silk and black woollen stuff. The crowds would joy to see Eastern Treasures, hitherto doled out by Venetian favour, chiefly in the form of expensive spicery, now displayed by the ordinary sailor as his particular share of the wealth of the Ind.

The shows were supplemented by Bull fights and *Canas* i.e. reed contests on horseback, mummeries, and, we may suppose some human specimens to illustrate eastern costume. Such doings, whether local or central, would fix

* To one so afflicted 'that it very much diminished his satisfaction with the great honours that he hoped for on coming into the King's presence'—*Cor.*

** (By special patent *Arch. Nac. da Torre do Tombo Liv. 25 de Joao* 2 p. 48 quoted by Texe.)

in memory the beginnings of a far reaching revolution, affecting firstly the daily toil of a people who from home-loving peasantry are now transformed into world-roving seamen.

Not less effective will be the changes wrought within the sphere of national Taste. In certain branches of art the power of assimilation is notable "Even the goldsmith's work," says K. G. Jayne, "stood in a symbolic relationship to the progress of discovery and conquest." Thus, with the gem laden pontificals presented to Leo X in 1514 there went a mitre, a pastoral staff and other such ecclesiastical items, 'all emblematic of the Orient, laying its untold riches at the feet of the Vicar of Christ.'

In regard to Architecture change is foreshadowed in Manoel's command to "open up the foundations round about this (Prince Henry's) chapel, on which they placed one of the greatest and most magnificent edifices in all Christendom" (Go chap. 53 quoted by Teix p. 101). To this building, commenced within a few months of the return, its royal founder eagerly transferred his workmen from Balhala Abbey. Belem convent has notable specimens of the Manoeline style, characterised by the riotous love of ornament. In the cloisters, "a tropical jungle in stone," the arches

'recall the boughs of an equatorial forest....Exotic fruits and flowers run wild over the graceful window shafts; parrots and lories swing overhead: here is an elephant, there an Indian cane-brake. Interwoven with these the cross of the Order of Christ, the armillary sphere chosen by King Manoel as his own device,...The medallions which occur at intervals show the figures of men from the shoulders or waist upwards—lifelike figures which seem like sailor sentinels, to watch the horizon. Among them is a head of Vasco da Gama; and Prince Henry the Navigator keeps guard over the main entrance.' Of

these medallions one is shewn in our illustration p. 12 ch. 1.

At first, with Literature as with Painting, revival showed itself chiefly in a general heedfulness of Nature's Truths; but later on we have in Camoens an outcome and expression of the spirit of maritime adventure as direct as any in Belem church,

To conclude with some personal details of our two chief heroes—Vasco da Gama forced his way only with difficulty among the ancient nobility. This will cause the less surprise when we reflect that he belonged to a family chiefly noted for its petty and local combats. As for his prolonged unemployments, the reports of the second journey would show the king that the aristocratic Cabral was an all round failure; da Gama was too masterful to succeed as a commercial agent sent out as on a punitive expedition, he owed to Manoel that he had a private grudge against his victims. It was, however, a matter of time; the countship, with its territorial privileges came to the grandeur-loving Admiral of the Eastern Seas. During the 3rd expedition his household appointments almost exceeded the limits of vice-regal splendour.

The mention of two other voyages is a warning that our tale is now told. The cold-blooded cruelties, unequalled it is said, by the Spaniards in South America suggest that Vasco without Paulo was a tree from which the sap has ceased to flow. Far more reliable witnesses than Correa are evidenced by the facts. Nor can we accept the grimly humorous suggestion that this historian exaggerated the atrocities in order that his hero might have a greater glory as a slayer of Moslems.

In the third and last appearance on the stage we have Vasco's most pathetic attempt to stand alone, not merely without the material presence of his brother but without the sympathy of the strongest men in India, who having

in view a purely selfish end, were opposed to drastic reform and were waiting only for his death to renew their inglorious search. Nor had they long to wait for he was hardest upon himself, neglecting even the mid-day *siesta* which was universally regarded as necessary. Amid his heroic toil, death marked him for his own. And the rest of his honours are posthumous.

Finally, we have a word to add of the elder brother a word, that must not be twisted into disparagement of "inimitable Vasco." Paulo was no mere shadow of a hero, but all too little is known of his personality apart from the one Great Adventure. Typical he is of the better part of the National life—an example to thousands who all too blindly and with forebodings of loss followed him from their dearly-loved homes. He neither stood aside to censure or sought a hireling's reward. The spirit of both his and their endeavour is fully expressed by a family motto "Born not for ourselves but for the whole world," for as we have seen it was a work of national altruism on behalf of humanity. And was it all loss? Barros, the historian, makes it an aggravation of Vasco's grief that Paulo was stopped short, at the gateway of his Reward (Galardão). Here there is assuredly a blindness to larger issues. We do not know that Paulo ever sought any recompense; what if from Terceira, as from a Pisgah, his vision comprehended the best that others will yet enjoy in the far off land of Promise!

INDEX AND GLOSSARY.

- ACOUCAO ILHA DE**, (island of the flogged one). Chap. IX., p. 132.
- ADAMASTOR**, (The Spirit). The bearded and gigantic wraith who personifies the wild sea south of the Cape. Chap. VI., p. 75; Chap. XV., p. 202.
- AFFONSO MARTIN**. Lived long in Kongo and had learned some of the Bantu dialects of the West coast. Chap. VI., pp. 87, 88.
- AGULHAS CURRENT**, Chap. VIII., p. 105.
- ALAEMON NIVOSA**, (Karoo lark) Hoetjes Bay.
- ALBUQUERQUE, AFFONSO DE**, (Governor of India, 1509-15). Chap. IV., p. 55; Chap. XII., p. 173.
- ALCAIDE**, judge. In Portuguese it means the governor of a province, town, or castle. Chap. X., p. 135.
- ALMADIAS**, a ferry boat, a dug out. Chap. VIII., pp. 112, 113; Chap. IX., pp. 130, 131; Chap. XIII., p. 183.
- ALMEIDA FRANCISCO DE**. First Viceroy of the Indies; he discovered the East coast of Madagascar and found forts at Quilloa, Anjediva and Cananor. Chap. I., p. 11; Chap. XII., p. 173.
- ALVARES GONCALO**, master of the S. Gabriel. Chap. V., p. 59.
- ALVAREY PEDRO**. Chap. 3., p. 36.
- ALBATROSS**, Wandering, (known as Cape sheep). Chap. IV., p. 49.
- ANAFILS**, a sort of Trumpet. Chap. XIII., p. 175.
- ANJEDIVA ISLANDS**, have their place in English history. When in 1661, an English force was sent to take possession of Bombay under the then recent treaty, the local authorities refused to acknowledge the orders from Portugal. Pending diplomatic negotiations Lord Marlborough landed the troops on Anjedivar. Sir Abraham Shipman, the General and 300 of the 500 troops died there in a few months.
- AA PIETER VAN DER**, an accurate collection of the most noteworthy sea and land travels to the East and West Indies..... of which some are printed for the first time, others translated from the original language for the first time, and some have been greatly amended; beginning from the year 1246 and extending to the present time, interspersed with the

necessary maps, several prints and useful indices. Chap. V., p. 57.

ARBALIST, a European medieval crossbow shooting usually quarrels or square-headed bolts, and of such stiffness that a mechanical appliance was required to bend it.

ARABIAN NIGHTS FIGURE, Chap. IX., p. 123.

ASANDAS, Chap., XIII., p. 183.

ASSEGAI BOOM, Chap. V., p. 69.

ASTROLABE, (*astron*, star and root *lab* seen in *lambano*, I take,) formerly used for taking the altitude of sun or stars at sea. Chap. I., p. 14: Chap. I., pp. 62, 63, 152.

ATAMBOR, or Betel Nut, see Betel Nut.

ATTAQUAS, Hottentot tribe. Chap. VI., p. 84.

AUTENIQUEAS, Hottentot tribe, name signifies "men loaded with honey." Ch. VI., p. 84.

AZORES, name first given to the islands of Santa Maria, and San Miguel, from hawks, or rather kites, being found there in 1414.

BACOS. Chap. V., p. 69; Chap. XI., p. 148.

BALDAYO GONSALVES. Chap. III., p. 33.

BALHALA ABBEY. Chap. XVI., p. 209.

BARBICUS SINUS. Chap. XII., p. 154.

BABCOS, BARCAS, BARCA, SEWN BOATS. The vessels of this country are of good size and decked. There are no nails, and the planks are held together by cords, as are also those of their boats. The sails are made of palm matting. Chap. IX., pp. 127, 128; Chap. X., p. 140; Chap. XI., p. 144; Chap. XV., p. 199; Chap. XIV., p. 192.

BARROS JOAO DE COUTO DIODE. Decadas 24 Volumes, 1778-1788. Barros is an official historian: he is rhetorical and was never in India. He was born in 1496 and died on the 20th of October, 1570. He held important offices under the crown of Portugal. Captain of S. Jorge da Mina; he was treasurer of the Indian Department and appointed as factor of the India House in 1532. During this time he spent his life in business and his nights with his books. He was author of many other books, but none have the lasting value of his great work. Chap. II., pp. 18, 20, 22; Chap. IV., p. 41; Chap. V., pp. 57, 63, 65, 70, 73; Chap. VI., pp. 84, 90; Chap.

- VII., p. 101; Chap. VIII., pp. 106, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118; Chap. IX., pp. 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133; Chap. XI., pp. 143, 146, 152, 153; Chap. XII., p. 161, 162, 165, 167; Chap. XIII., pp. 179, 180; Chap. XIV., pp. 192, 195.
- BELEM**, Port and suburb of Lisbon. Chap. II., pp. 22, 23, 24; Chap. III., p. 30; Chap. XVI., pp. 207, 209, 210.
- BELEM ON BETHLEHEM CHURCH AND MONASTERY**. A magnificent structure, built on the right bank of the Tagus as you sail up the imposing entrance to Lisbon. It is built on the site whence Gama embarked and on which he landed on his return. It is dedicated to St. Jeronymo, and a school for poor children has been established there, where all the boys are taught trades. I have six times visited the Port of Lisbon, and five times out of the six, I have felt all its beauties to be associated with D. Manoel, Vasco da Gama and Camoens.
- BERRIO**, a caravel commanded by Nicolau Coelho. Chap. I., pp. 10, 11; Chap. XII., p. 164.
- PICTURE OF**, The Berrio explores. Chap. VIII., p. 112.
The Berrio takes soundings. Chap. IX., p. 121.
Takes part in a chase. Chap. IX., p. 128.
Her cable is hacked. Chap. X., p. 139.
- BETEL NUT** (Atambur). It is the fruit of Areca Catechu, and is universally chewed throughout India. Chap. XIII., p. 177.
- BOMBARDS**. (French bombarde, a canon, Gk. bombos, a deep hollow sound, probably imitative like English boom, bomb and bombast), originally catapults, subsequently any short thick piece of ordnance from which stone balls, etc., were thrown. Chap. I., p. 12; Chap. III., p. 35; Chap. IV., p. 51; Chap. IX., pp. 124, 128, 129, 130; Chap. X., p. 141; Chap. XI., pp. 147, 148; Chap. XII., pp. 170, 164; Chap. XIV., pp. 192, 193; Chap. XV., p. 199.
- BOSCH ALIUM HOUT**. Olijn Hout Bush. Very hard, about 6 to 8 ft. high, grows by itself in the veld, roots used for coal for threshing machines—alium hout stompjes. Chap. V., p. 69.
- BOOM ASSEGAI**. Assegai Wood, close grained, tough, not easily torn, grows to 15 or 20 feet high, really a tree, still grows freely by Orange River, probably obtainable along Berg or any other river—yellowish tint—rubbed with fat and passed over flame of fire, it becomes hard and smooth—straight as a die. Chap. V., p. 69.

- BRAGA ALVARO DE, clerk of the Berrio. Chap. XII., p. 164; Chap. XIV., p. 187.
- CABRAL JORGE (Governor of India 1549-50). Chap. II., p. 22; Chap. III., p. 36; Chap. IV., pp. 48, 54; Chap. V., p. 61; Chap. XII., pp. 156, 171, 172, 173; Chap. XVI., p. 210.
- CABOTORMENTOSO STORMY CAPE.
- CABO BONA ESPERANCA.
- CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. Chap. III., p. 37; Chap. IV., pp. 41, 42, 44, 48, 52, 54, 55, 56; Chap. V., p. 63; Chap. VI., pp. 74, 75, 78, 80, 81, 85; Chap. XI., p. 145; Chap. XV., pp. 202, 203, 204.
- CACOLIN. Chap. XII., p. 174.
- CALLANDRAS. Chap. V., p. 67, see Calandra larks.
- CALANDRA LARKS. One of the finest of European songsters, difficult to exaggerate the beauty of its glorious song, which is full of changes—a heavily built bird. With the Portuguese it is a favourite cage bird, and in many of the streets of Lisbon may be seen hanging outside every door in cages. (In thought carried back to his beloved Lisbon where the cages hang outside every door of many streets). Chap. V., p. 67.
- CALCADILHA BISHOP OF VISSEN. Chap. II., p. 22.
- CALICUT, CALECUT, QUALECUT. Arrival at Calicut, Chap. XII., p. 158; Description of, Chap. XII., p. 160; Zamorin at, Chap. XII., p. 161; Inhabitants of, Chap. XII., p. 162; Diarist's account, Chap. XII., pp. 161, 162; Sernigni's account of, Chap. XII., pp. 169, 170; Varthema, Chap. XII., p. 174; Fleet becalmed a league to the north of, Chap. XIV., p. 192; Calicut cocks, Chap. V., p. 70.
- CAMOENS. The poet of Portugal. Author of the grand Portuguese epic poem which Hallam describes as the first successful attempt in modern Europe to construct an epic poem on the ancient model. It has for its hero the celebrated Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama, and for its leading subject, the famous voyage accomplished by Vasco, which by general consent is ranked as having been by far the most important in its consequences of the three great voyages of the world. Chap. II., pp. 25, 26; Chap. III., 32; Chap. IV., pp. 44, 47, 51; Chap. V., p. 63; Chap. VI., p. 74; Chap. VIII., pp. 106, 107; Chap. IX., pp. 124, 125; Chap. X., p. 138; Chap. XI., p. 149; Chap. XII., p. 157; Chap. XIII.,

pp. 182, 185; Chap. XIV., pp. 192, 194, 195, 196; Chap. XV., p. 199; Chap. XVI., p. 210.

CAMOLIN, see Zamorin.

CANANOR. Chap. XII., p. 157; Chap. XVI., p. 207.

CANAQUA OR CANA, the pilot who guided Vasco da Gama from Melinde to Calecut. Chap. XII., pp. 158, 162; Chap. XI., p. 152.

CANAS, Pl. of Cana, a sport on horseback, representing a fight with reeds instead of lances. Chap. XVI., p. 208.

CAPUCA. Chap. VIII., pp. 113, 114; see Touca.

CARAVEL OR CARVEL, a swift Portuguese Bark of 120 tons. Chap. IV., p. 42; Chap. XII., p. 157; Chap. XVI., p. 206.

CARAPUCA, a cap to keep from cold and sun burning. Chap. VIII., p. 113.

CARAPUCAO, a sort of cap used by the Moorish princes.

CASTANHEDA FERNAO LOPES DE, Historia do Descobrimento e conquista da India, Lisbon 1833. Castanheda visited India in 1528 and remained there 10 years. He collected his facts with diligence and good judgment. Chap. II., p. 18; Chap. III., p. 39; Chap. IV., p. 42 and 48; Chap. V., pp. 60, 70; Chap. VI., p. 87; Chap. VIII., pp. 105, 115, 116; Chap. IX., pp. 120, 121, 123, 124; Chap. X., p. 139; Chap. XII., pp. 156, 168;; Chap. XIII., p. 175; Chap. XV., p. 198.

CATUAL (Kot-Wal), governor of a fort. Chap. XII., pp. 165, 166.

CEITEL, ceitil, a Portuguese coin of very small value, $\frac{1}{2}$ of a farthing. Chap. V., p. 68.

CHAFFER, gentlemen called. Chap. XII., p. 172; Chap. XIV., p. ...; Chap. XV., p. ...

CINTRA, famous for its oranges (in Portugal). Chap. XVI., p. 207.

COCHIN. Chap. XII., p. 161.

COELHO NICHOLAS. Commander of the Berrio. Chap. I., pp. 10, 11; Chap. II., pp. 23, 25; Chap. III., pp. 30, 34; Chap. IV., p. 53; Chap. V., p. 58; Chap. VII., pp. 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101; Chap. VIII., p. 114; Chap. IX., pp. 120, 121, 122, 125, 127, 132, 129; Chap. X., pp. 135, 137, 140; Chap. XI., pp. 145, 147, 149, 150, 151; Chap. XII., pp. 157, 163; Chap. XIII., p. 184; Chap. XIV., p. 190; Chap. XV., pp. 198, 200, 202; Chap. XVI., pp. 206, 207.

COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER, reached the West Indies in 1492.

Discovers South America 1498 and in 1502 lands for the first time on the mainland of North America. Chap. I., p. 9; Chap. II., p. 18; Chap. IV., p. 43, 49, 50; Chap. V., p. 64; Chap. VI., p. 79.

THE CONSULATE OF THE SEA. Its first extant edition bears date 1494. The quotation in Chap. I., p. 12, is from Mr. Jayne's chapter on "Seamen and Slaves." See extract in our next chapter. Chap. III., p. 33.

CORMORANTS. Some 30 species, characterised by their elongated but powerful body, the long neck which may vary considerably in thickness, the moderately long and narrow back—legs short and stout—all cormorants are characterised by their dark blackish bluish or greenish hue of the plumage in the upper parts, which generally has a more or less marked metallic tinge and the head may be ornamented with one or two tufts of feathers. Chap. V., p. 66.

CORREA GASPAR, LENDAS DA INDIA. First visited India in 1512. Served as secretary to Albuquerque. As far as South Africa is concerned Correa's account is certainly less trustworthy than the narratives of Barros and Osorius. A translation of the three voyages of Vasco da Gama from the Lendas was published by the Hakluyt society. Chap. I., p. 13; Chap. II., pp. 18, 22, 23, 24; Chap. III., pp. 35, 36, 37; Chap. VI., pp. 78, 79, 80; Chap. VII., pp. 94, 99, 100, 101, 102; Chap. VIII., p. 117; Chap. IX., pp. 124, 125; Chap. X., p. 140; Chap. XI., p. 149, 150, 151; Chap. XII., pp. 159, 163; Chap. XIII., pp. 179, 180, 183, 184; Chap. XIV., pp. 189, 192, 196; Chap. XV., pp. 198, 199, 200, 204; Chap. XVI., pp. 206, 208.

CORRIENTES CAPE. Chap. VIII., pp. 107, 111.

COSA, JUAN DE LA. The first map illustrating, or rather attempting to illustrate Vasco da Gama's voyage is that compiled by 'Cosa, the famous pilot of Columbus, in 1500. Chap. VI., p. 79.

COVILHAM Pedro de Covilhao, Pero de Covilhao. Chap. VIII., p. 117. Visits Sofala towards the close of the fifteenth century. Chap. VI., p. 77.

COVILHA, PEDRO DE. A priest—went with Vasco da Gama as chaplain of the Fleet and Father Confessor. Chap. VIII., p. 117.

CRAYFISH. Found in great abundance in inlets around the south western coast of Africa. Chap. IV., p. 50; Chap. V., p. 57.

CRUZADOS. A Portuguese gold coin, worth 9/8. It retained its value up to 1555, when its value was reduced at 9/2. Chap. III., p. 37; Chap. XII., p. 156; Chap. XVI., pp. 205, 207.

CROSS-BOW. A missile throwing weapon consisting of a bow fixed transversely upon a stock that contains a groove to guide the missile, a notch to hold the string, and a trigger to release it. Chap. III., p. 38.

CRUZ ISLAND DA, Algoa Bay. Chap. VIII., p. 104.

CUIRASSES. Chap. IX., p. 124; Chap. XIV., p.

D'ALENQUER PERIO. Pedro de Alenquer, the chief pilot on the Sao Gabriel, he steered Bartholomew's flagship round Cape Tempestuous. Chap. I., p. 12; Chap. IV., pp. 42, 53; Chap. V., pp. 62, 63; Chap. VI., pp. 77, 79, 81, 83; Chap. VII., pp. 96, 98, 100, 102; Chap. VIII., pp. 104, 105; Chap. X., p. 141; Chap. XVI., p. 208.

DAMEIROEIRO JOAO. According to Correa he was one of the mutineers who returned to Portugal. Chap. XV., p. 204.

DEGRADADOES (Convicts or banished men). Chap. V., p. 61; Chap. VIII., pp. 110, 115; Chap. XII., p. 159; Chap. XI., p. 144; Chap. XV., p. 201.

DELAGOA BAY. (26° S'. 34° E'.) its discovery, ancient name "R do reys," "G de lom raios". Golfo dos tres Reis magos. Chap. VIII., p. 105.

DIAS, BARTHOLOMEW. Diaz, Diz. Builds Gama's ships. Chap. I., p. 11; 1487 Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope, Chap. I., pp. 9, 12; Diaz accompanies Da Gama on the first part of the journey, Chap. 2., p. 18; Diaz goes as far as the mine, Chap. IV., pp. 41, 42; Logs and Charts of, Chap. VI., p. 77; Hardships suffered, Chap. VI., pp. 77, 80; Beyond the point discovered by, Chap. VIII., pp. 104, 106; Island last seen in company with, Chap. VIII., p. 104.

DIAS, DIOGO. A brother of Bartholomew Diaz, he served as clerk on the Sao Gabriel. Chap. I., pp. 12, 13, 14; Chap. II., pp. 13, 14; Chap. III., p. 38; Chap. V., p. 61; Chap. VI., p. 78; Chap. XII., pp. 163, 164; Chap. XIV., pp. 187, 188, 190, 191.

DIARIST, THE. The unknown author of "The Roteiro." Chap. IV., p. 51; Chap. V., pp. 59, 60, 63, 69; Chap. VI., pp. 81, 85, 90; Chap. VIII., pp. 103, 108, 112, 113, 117; Chap. IX., pp. 120, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133; Chap. X., pp. 135, 139; Chap. XI., pp. 144, 148, 152; Chap. XII., pp. 154, 159, 164, 173; Chap. XIII., pp. 175, 176, 177; Chap. XIV., pp. 188, 192; Chap. XV., pp. 197, 198, 201, 202; Chap. XVI., p. 205.

DIEGO & HECTOR. Chap. III., p. 33.

DRAA WADY. Chap. III., p. 32.

DUARTE. Chap. XIII., p. 178.

FIGUEIRO JOAO. A priest—Correa used his diary. Chap. VIII., p. 117.

FISH TUNNY. A large fish of the mackerel tribe, much used for food, common in the Mediterranean.

FLAMINGO. Although essentially a wader, the flamingo in deep water can swim well and powerfully and carrying the neck nearly straight and inclined somewhat forwards and moving in a series of jerks. In flight the neck and legs are stretched straight out in front and behind, the flock progressing in the same formation as geese and uttering cries almost indistinguishable from those of the aquatic animals, it would appear that their chief food consists of various water plants, which are pulled up from beneath the surface. (Related to herons, great length of legs, long necks, frequent open country and neighbourhood of large rivers where water may be either fresh, brackish or salt. All characteristic of red hue of flamingo). Chap. IV., p. 50.

FLUTE. Chap. VI., pp. 85, 86.

FOLIAS. A sort of mad dance, used in Portugal, by a great number of people with a confused noise, whence it took its name, as being so like folly. Chap. VI., p. 81.

FRANCKS. A name given by the Orientals to the inhabitants of Western Europe. Chap. XIV., p. 195.

"GABRIEL SAO." Flagship, Chap. IV., pp. 42, 53; Chap. VI., p. 78; Chap. VII., p. 102; Chap. IX., pp. 122, 125; Chap. XII., p. 163. Dimensions of, Chap. I., pp. 14, 15. Repairing of, Chap. III., p. 37. Description, Chap. III., p. 38. Accident to, Chap. IV., p. 44. Clergyman on board the, Chap. VIII.,

p. 117. Figure head of, Chap. IX., p. 127. Another accident to, Chap. X., p. 137. Careening of, Chap. XIV., p. 195. Paulo on board the, Chap. XV., p. 201. Repairs effected to, Chap. XVI., p. 206.

GALTON. Chap. V., p. 71; Chap. VI., p. 89.

GAMA, VASCO DA. Portrait of Vasco, Chap. I., pp. 9-10. Instruments used, p. 14. Description of navy, p. 15. The send off, Chap. II, pp. 18-25. In 1497 commands an expedition from Portugal to follow up the discoveries of Dias and search for an ocean route to India, Chap. III., p. 30. Chap. IV., in search of the Cape of Good Hope, pp. 41, 42, 48; the naming of St. Helena, p. 53. Chap. V., where he is wounded in a quarrel with Hottentots; p. 59, takes soundings; pp. 62, 63, captures a Hottentot; p. 64; the Da Gamass' savage, p. 64. Chap. VI., Adamastor the Spirit, pp. 74, 75; opinion of pilots, pp. 78, 79; Rounding the Cape, pp. 80, 81; St. Bras, pp. 82-87. Chap. VII., The Storm, p. 94; alleged mutiny, pp. 95-99. Chap. VIII., On the 25th of December passes by a beautiful country which he names Natal, p. 106; Beyond Sofala, p. 111; Scurvy, pp. 114, 115; River of Good Signs, p. 118. Chap. IX., Reaches Mozambique, p. 120; False start for the north, p. 129. Chap. X., Reaches Mombasa, p. 134. Chap. XI., Melinde, p. 142; Prisoners handed over, p. 147; Bestows honour of knighthood, p. 149; Coelho sent ashore, p. 149; Correa's munificence, p. 151; Secures a treasure of a pilot, p. 153. Chap. XII., Across the Arabian Sea, p. 155; Two leagues from the city of Calicut, p. 158; At the city, p. 161; Vasco sets forth, p. 163; A visit to the church, p. 165. Chap. XIII., Procession at Calicut, p. 175; The interview, p. 177; Presents to the King, p. 180; Second interview, p. 181; Prisoners, p. 184. Chap. XIV., Further dealings with the Samorin, p. 187; Carries specimens of spices, p. 189; Hostages taken, p. 191, 111; At ease, p. 193; On the Malabar Coast, p. 195. Chap. XV., Scurvy again, p. 197; Magadoxo and Melinde, p. 199; S. Raphael burnt, p. 201; St. Bras, p. 201; Doubling the Cape, p. 202; Puts in at Santiago, p. 204. Chap. XVI., Terceira, p. 206; At the court of Lisbon, p. 207; Is made a Count, p. 208; His third and last appearance, p. 210.

GAMA, DA ESTEVAO. Chap. II., p. 5. Father of Vasco da Gama.

GAMA, GASPAR DE. Chap. XII., p. 169. A "Moor" or renegade, who joined Vasco at Anjediva Island. Our anonymous author describes him as about 40 years of age, and as being able to speak "Venetian" well. Vasco carried him to Portugal, where he was baptized and received the name of Gaspar da Gama. He is frequently referred to as Gaspar da India. Correa calls him Gaspar da Gama and Gaspar de las Indias, or Gaspar d'Almeida. King Manoel calls him a "Jew, who turned Christian; a merchant and lapidary."

GAMA, PAULO DA. Brother of Vasco da Gama. Named as a probable leader. Captain of the S. Raphael, Chap. I., p. 10; Chap. III., p. 30; Chap. IV., p. 50; Chap. VI., p. 78; Chap. VII., p. 97. The standard carried in Paulo's ship, Chap. II., p. 23. Paulo refuses chief command, Chap. II., p. 24. Rigging damaged, Chap. III., p. 32. Lost touch with the rest of the fleet, Chap. III., p. 34. A far off glimpse of green-sloped Kamiesberg, Chap. IV., p. 52. Paulo's entreaties for Veloso, Chap. V., p. 58. The kindness of Paulo, Chap. VI., p. 78; Chap. VII., pp. 98, 99; Chap. VIII., p. 116. The da Gamas' fleet, Chap. VI., p. 82; Chap. VIII., p. 111; Chap. IX., p. 122; Chap. XII., p. 143. Paulo gives information, Chap. VII., p. 102. Injury to the mast of S. Raphael, Chap. VIII., p. 106. The chief captain's courtliness, Chap. IX., p. 123. Paulo catches an almadia, Chap. IX., p. 131. The S. Raphael grounded on a coral reef, Chap. IX., p. 133. High festival held on Paulo's ship, Chaps. XI. and XII., p. 142. Vasco arranges for Paulo to remain with ships, Chap. XI., pp. 145, 149. The elder brother, Chap. XII., p. 163. At Calicut, Chap. XIII., pp. 184, 185. At Melinde, Chap. XV., p. 199. Paulo's ship burnt, Chap. XV., p. 201. Paulo ill, Chap. XVI., p. 205. Paulo's death, Chap. XVI., p. 206.

GANNET SOUTHERN (known as Malagar). The Cape Gannet or Malagas; the Southern Gannet and Nestling. The food supplied to the nestling is prepared by a process of partial digestion and other nutritive substance secreted in the alimentary system, the parent bird opens its beak to an enormous extent and the young pushes its own down the mouth of the bird feeding it. Both sexes hatch and feed the single nestling. The Pelican and cormorant, and also

some land birds receive nutriment in this manner which recalls that of the young pigeon. The young birds differ very markedly from adults and do not acquire pure white plumage until the second year. Chap. IV., p. 49.

GENOESE GREAT. Christopher Columbus.

GEORGE ST. See Sao Jorge.

GHATS WESTERN. Chap. XII., p. 157.

GOA. The fond mother of villains and the step-mother of honest men. First capture by Albuquerque. Chap. III., p. 36; Chap. XVI., p. 207. Vasco received the anchorage-dues of Goa. In 1510 becomes the capital of Portuguese India.

GOES (1501-73). Commentarius Rerum gestarum in India citra Gangem a Lusitanis Louvain 1539, Chronica del rei D. Joao II. Lisbon G. was one of the most distinguished of Portuguese humanists and an intimate friend of Erasmus. He was keeper of the royal archives. Chap. II., pp. 18, 24; Chap. IV., p. 48; Chap. V., pp. 57, 60, 65, 70, 71; Chap. VI., pp. 81, 87, 90; Chap. VIII., p. 108, 109, 110, 111, 112; Chap. XII., pp. 157, 158, 166, 167.

GOM, GOM. A hottentot instrument. It is a Bow of Iron, or Olive Wood strung with twisted sheep gut or sinews. Chap. VI., p. 86.

GONSALVES ANTAM. The Prince's master of the wardrobe, sent in command of a small ship in 1441. Chap. III., p. 33.

GRAINS OF PARADISE. Chap. III., p. 31.

GRANDE, RIO. So called by Cadamosto supposed to be the river Jeba. Chap. XV., p. 204; Chap. XVI., p. 205.

GRENADÉS. A hollow ball or shell of iron or other metal, or of annealed glass, filled with powder, fired by means of a fuse, and thrown among enemies. Chap. IV., p. 45.

GUTHI. Chap. VI., p. 86.

GULF WEED. Golfão i.e. *Zostera Nana*, which is met with along the coast of South Western Africa.

GULL. Black and White. The Southern black-backed gull. *Larus dominicanus*. Young *female*, white breast and head and fore parts, greyish wings and dark grey tail, dark beak. Salt River mouth. *Male*, pure white head and neck and forepart. 2 ft. long, yellow beak, dark greyish wings, nearly black. This is the largest gull commonly seen about our coasts. It can be seen in large numbers in Table Bay, swimming and flying round. Chap. V., p. 66.

GUZERATES. Merchants of Guzerat, or Gujarat at Calcut.

HELENA, S. ($32^{\circ} 41'8''$; 18° E' map 11). Chap V., pp. 61, 62, 63, 67; Chap. VI., pp. 81, 84, 88.

HERON. Chap. IV., p. 49.

HENRY PRINCE. Prince Henry the Navigator. A great Mathematician and author of that grand discovery, the use of the compass. It was the genius of Prince Henry that brought into play all the latent forces of the Portuguese people, tending towards expansion. Chap. II., pp. 21, 26; Chap. III., pp. 33, 34; Chap. VI., p. 77; Chap. XVI., p. 209.

ILNIOS (*Bird Islands*). Chap. VIII., p. 104.

INFANTE. Prince Henry. Chap. VI., p. 78; Chap. IV., p. 47.

INFANTE RIO DE (*i.e.*, River of J. Infante), frequently called Rio de Infante, River of the Infante, Prince Henry. ($33^{\circ} 30'S$; $27^{\circ} 8'E$. map 2). The Great Fish River.

INSULAE FORTUNATAE. (Classic name for Canaries). Chap. III., p. 32.

JACKALS. Chap. V., p. 68.

JINN — HAUNTED. Jinn. In Mohammedan myth one of a race of genii or spirits, some good, others bad. Chap VIII., p. 111.

JORGE, S. Island ($15^{\circ} 2'S$; $40^{\circ} 45'E$. map 111). Chap. VIII., p. 116; Chap. IX., pp. 129, 132; Chap. XV., p. 201.

KOLBE. Chap. V., pp. 67, 68.

KILIMAN (Quilimane) River, S.E. Africa. Chap. VIII., pp. 112, 116.

LAMBEL. A striped cotton stuff which had a large sale at the beginning of the African trade. Chap. XIII., p. 180.

LARK. Karroo. Chap. V., p. 67.

LARKS, represented by upwards of a hundred species, arranged under several generic heads: CRESTED LARKS, distinguished by the presence on the head of a crest composed of a few very long feathers springing from the centre of the crown. In the spring of the year they may be seen in the North of Spain travelling in flocks apparently composed exclusively of their own kind, which generally frequent the ploughed fields in preference to grass lands. One of the most unsuspicious and tame birds. Chap. V., p. 66.

LARUS HARTLANBI (Hartlanb's Gull) hoetjes Bay, Male. This is a smaller gull so commonly seen in Table Bay and along

the Western Coast of the Colony. Like large doves, white head, grey wings, black at tips of wings, thick beak and web feet. Chap. V., p. 66.

LATEEN-RIGGED. *i.e.* Carrying a triangular sail, having its fore-edge fastened to a long tapering pole, hoisted obliquely after the manner of an Arab dhow; this easily movable yard is a great convenience when the vessel has to be brought about. Chap. I., p. 11; Chap. IV., p. 45.

LICHENSTEIN. Chap. V., p. 73.

LUSIAD (Mickle). An epic poem translated by Mickle. Chap. IV., pp., 41, 43; Chap. VIII., pp. 117, 118; Chap. IX., p. 130; Chap. XIV., p. 194.

MACHADO JOAO. Chap. III., p. 36.

MACOBIQUE, rrey, seique, sheik, shafh, senhor. Chap. IX., p. 122.

MADAGASCAR (Island of the Moon). Chap. VI., p. 77.

MAGADOXE. Chap. XV., p. 199.

MAGELLAN, 1521, whose Portuguese name was Magalhaes, deserted the service of Manoel for that of Spain. In 1519, Charles V. gave him five ships to find a new way to the Molacca's "the very garden of spices." He employed Portuguese pilots, but his Spanish crews proved mutinous when to deepest south "he dares the course unknown," and even after entering the straits 'for ever sacred to the hero's fame.' Finding the tide stronger when it flowed to the westward than when it ran to the east, Magellan refused to turn back, though they should be reduced to eating the leather on the ship's yards. See Meyor's Discoveries of Prince Henry. Reaching Cape Discado (the desired Cape) and beholding the open Pacific, he wept for joy and gratitude. On the homeward journey he was slain in Matan (one of the Phillippines) whilst attempting the forcible conversion of its natives. He will always be mentioned along with Columbus, Diaz, and da Gama, the names forming as it were, a single constellation, though like the stars in our *Southern Cross*, not of equal brilliance! Chap. IV., p. 43; Chap. VI., p. 78.

MAKULANGAS. Chap. VIII., p. 109.

MALAGAS. A sea bird, the deeper the fish the higher it goes up to dive. See Cape Gannet. Chap. IV., p. 49.

MALEMA. Chap. XI., p. 152.

- MALINDI.** Melinde. Chap. X., p. 141; Chap. XI., pp. 142, 143, 144, 145, 149, 150, 151; Chap. XII., p. 157; Chap. XV., p. 199; Chap. XVI., p. 207.
- MAMELUKES,** or Mammeluks, the name of a dynasty which reigned a considerable time in Egypt. Chap. XII., p. 165.
- MANICONGO** (congo). Chap. VI., p. 87; Chap. VIII., p. 109.
- MANOEL, MANUEL 1.** Emmanuel, King of Portugal. Jayne's picture of, Chap. II., p. 18; Makes Vasco da Gama commander of the fleet of the Indies, Chap. II., pp. 20, 21, 22, 23; The leaving of the fleet, Chap. III., pp. 30, 31; Rewards Diaz, Chap. IV., p. 41; Instructions, Chap. V., p. 64; Spirit of the Stormy Cape, Chap. VI., p. 74; Magellan's desertion, Chap. VI., p. 78; Manoel's Predecessor, Chap. XII., p. 156; Into the presence of the elusive one, Chap. XII., p. 164; Instructions to Cabral, Chap. XII., p. 171; Vasco as representative of the King of Portugal, Chap. XIII., pp. 178, 179; Vasco produces letter from Manoel, Chap. XIII., p. 183; Is informed of the return, Chap. XVI., pp. 206, 207; Vasco at the court of Manoel, Chap. XVI., pp. 207, 208; Manoel subsequently builds the splendid Temple of Belem, Chap. XVI., p. 209; Rewards to Gama, Chap. XVI., p. 210.
- MARTINS FERNAO.** The sailor mentioned by the author as being able to speak the language of the Moors. He was one of the two men sent with a message to the King of Calecut. Chap. VIII., p. 113; Chap. IX., pp. 125, 126; Chap. XII., pp. 159, 164; Chap. XIII., p. 184.
- MELA POMPONIUS.** Chap. VI., p. 75.
- MEXICA SANCHEO.** Incidentally mentioned in the Roteiro. Chap. V., p. 65.
- MICKLE.** Translator of the Lusiad. Born in 1734. Chap. II., p. 26; Chap. V., p. 60; Chap. XIV., p. 193.
- MINA EL.** (Gold Coast Station). Founded 1484. Chap. IV., pp. 41, 48.
- MOMBASA.** Arrival at, Chap. X., p. 134. The Return, Chap. XV., p. 200.
- MONCAIDE.** "A Moor of Tunis." Came on board Vasco da Gama's vessel at Calecut. He accompanied Vasco to Portugal and was baptised. In King Manoel's letter to the Cardinal Protector he is referred to as a "Moor of Tunis." Chap. XII., pp. 159, 162, 163; Chap. XIII., p. 184; Chap. XIV., p. 188.

MONOMOTAPA. Bantu Chief. Chap. VIII., p. 110.

MOORS. The name was applied indiscriminately, by the Portuguese to the inhabitants of Mauretania, to the Libyans, (or Berbers) further south, as well as to the Arabs trading between the east coast and India, in fact to all people who boasted a trace of white blood, and professed the Moslem religion.

MOZAMBIQUE. Fernão Martins much in evidence at, Chap. VIII., p. 113. At Mozambique, Chap. IX., p. 120. Crews signal the Portuguese to return, Chap. IX., pp. 127, 128. Four leagues abaft Mozambique, Chap. IX., p. 129. Moor and son come to Mozambique, Chap. IX., p. 129. The two pilots from Mozambique, Chap. X., pp. 135, 136. A better reception at Melinde than at Mozambique, Chap. XI., p. 144. Value of Merchandise, Chap. XIV., p. 189.

NARSINGA. This is the name most frequently applied in the 16th and 17th centuries to the kingdom in Southern India, otherwise Vijayanagara or Bisnagar, the latest powerful Hindu Kingdom in the Peninsula. This Kingdom was founded on the ruins of the Belala dynasty of Vijayanagara became extinct about 1487 and was replaced by Narasinha, a prince of Telugu origin, who reigned till 1508. He was therefore reigning at the time of the first arrival of the Portuguese and the name of Narsinga which they learned to apply to the kingdom from his name, continued to be applied to it for nearly two centuries. Chap. XIV., p. 196.

NAVETES, Naveta, a little ship. Chap. IX., p. 128.

NESTORIANS. An adherent of Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople in the 5th century, who maintained that the two natures in Christ were separate.

NOTUS. Chap. VIII., p. 106.

NUNES GONCALO. Captain of the store-ship. Cantanheda calls him Goncalo Gomez. He was a retainer of Vasco da Gama. Chap. II., p. 25.

NUN CAPE. Nam, nao. Chap. III., p. 32; Chap. VI., p. 77. Nam, in Portuguese, a negative. It is now called by corruption, Cape Nun.

ORTIZ DIOGO DOM (Bishop of Capta and afterwards of Vissen). Chap. II., p. 22.

- OSORIO DA FONSECA.** D. Jeronymo, Bishop of Silves, who earned remembrance as a champion of the persecuted Jews and as the author of a history of King Manoel's reign. Chap. IV., p. 41; Chap. VII., p. 101.
- O 'URO DO' RIO.** The misnamed River of Gold (The Limpopo). Chap. III., pp. 31, 33, 34.
- OVAMPOS.** Chap. VI., p. 89.
- PACHECO PEREIRA, DUARTE.** Wrote *Esmeraldo de situ Orbis* ed. with notes, illustrations and many important documents. He was famous for his defence of Cochin in 1504. Chap. II., p. 27; Chap. III., p. 35; Chap. IV., pp. 44, 55; Chap. V., p. 62.
- PALHA JOAO.** One of the thirteen who attended Vasco da Gama to Calcut. Chap. XII., p. 164.
- PANDARINI.** Varthemas account. Chap. XII., p. 162. Detention at, Chap. XIII., p. 183.
- PARADISE, GRAINS OF.** Chap. III., p. 31.
- PELICAN.** Pelicans point entrance to Walfish Bay. Pelicans sitting there. Passed the school of Hunchbacks in coming—All about this coast immense flocks of pelicans and flamingoes. Chap. IV., p. 49.
- PENGUINS.** The most conspicuous outward character presented by the Penguin is the total want of quills in their wings. Some of the species make use of them for progressing on land. In the water they are most efficient paddlers and are usually, if not always, worked alternately with a rotatory action. In standing these birds preserve an upright position, but in walking or running on land this is kept nearly vertical, and their weight is supported by the toes alone. They congregate when breeding by thousands in the Penguin rookeries. They bite powerfully. The interest of nearly all the numerous accounts of these rookeries is spoilt by the disgusting details of the brutal havoc perpetrated upon them. Found at Tristan D'Acunha and off Cape of Good Hope. Chap. XV., p. 201.
- PINGAR.** A cruel punishment used by masters to slaves of dropping scalding fat on their bare skin. Chap. X., p. 138; Chap. XIV., p. 196.
- PIREZ GONCALO.** A mariner and retainer of Vasco da Gama. Chap. XII., p. 164.

PLINY. Natural History by, Chap. VI., p. 75; Chap. XII., p. 154.

PLOTUS LEVAILLANTI. The Darter—Berg River. This bird, known also as Anbringa, or snake bird, is not uncommon in many parts of South Africa. It is a wonderful swimmer and diver, and lives entirely on fishes. These it spears under water with its needle-like beak, then coming to the surface it throws them up in the air, and swallows them. It has white under neck and black above. Body mostly black, wings streaked with white. Fan-like tail.

PORY. Chap. XV., p. 203.

PRESTER JOHN. Supposed to be the Emperor of Ethiopia, whose capital in those days was Shoa. The Portuguese hoped to discover an ally in a Christian prince whose territory they located vaguely in Africa—a powerful and mysterious potentate—known as Prester John. Chap. II., p. 21; Chap. III., p. 36; Chap. VI., p. 82; Chap. IX., pp. 126, 127; Chap. XII., pp. 156, 170.

PTOLEMY. Geography of. Chap. VI., p. 75.

QUADRANT. (Lat. quadrans, a fourth). The word is used of (1) the quarter of a circle (2) an arc of 90° ; hence (3) an old form of *sextant*. This latter is so called because its limit at first comprehended 60° (6th part of a circle) and is an instrument for measuring the angular height of a heavenly body by reflexion. It is specially adopted for use at sea, where, on account of the motion of a ship a fixed instrument would prove untrustworthy. See Chap. I., p. 6.

QUILOA KILWA. Chap. IX., p. 132.

QUOQUAS. Among the animals which these early navigators must have met with but which are not mentioned are porpoises (*peixe de porco*) and dolphins (*doiradas* or gilt heads). Chap. IV., p. 50.

RAJA HINDU. Chap. XIII., pp. 177, 181, 182, 183; Chap. XIV., pp. 188, 190.

RAPHAEL SERRAS DE SAO. Shoals where the S. Raphael met her fate. Chap. IX., p. 133.

SAINT RAPHAEL. In Milton's story, Raphael godlike angel, answered mild 'to Adam's request for instruction. How Raphael acted as guide to the youthful Tobias is told in the Apocrypha (Tobit, Ch. VI.-VII.). He is not mentioned

in the Canonical Scriptures. For Gabriel's part in Daniel's vision, see Dan. VIII. 6, 10, 21; see also Luke I. 19, 26. Chap. I, p. 17.

"SAO RAPHAEL," PAULO DA GAMA'S SHIP. Chap. I., p. 15; Chap. VIII., p. 116. Author of the Roteiro on board the, Chap. III., p. 30. Loss of Mooring rope and anchor, Chap. VIII., p. 107. Repairing of, Chap. VIII., p. 112. Grounded on a coral reef, Chap. IX., p. 133. Tunny fish lay hold of rigging of, Chap. X., p. 139. João de Sá contrasts figure head with frescoed saints, Chap. XII., p. 168. Ties repaired, Chap. XV., p. 199. Burning of Sao Raphael, Chap. XV., p. 201.

RAVENSTEIN, DR. Translated and edited the "Roteiro." Chap. II., p. 22; Chap. IV., pp. 48, 49, 54; Chap. V., p. 61; Chap. VII., p. 101; Chap. VIII., p. 107; Chap. XII., p. 157; Chap. XV., p. 197.

REVOS DOS REGOS. Chap. VIII., p. 109.

RIO DOS BONS SIGNAES, or Kiliman River. River of Good Signs or tokens. Barros and Goes both call it "Rio dos Bons Signals," whilst Correa refers to it as Rio da Misericordia, the River of Mercy. Chap. VIII., p. 108, 112.

RODRIGUEZ, ARTHUR. Chap. XVI., p. 206.

ROTEIRO. A sailor's log, a Roteiro, or journal of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1497-99. No one has yet succeeded in discovering the author of the Roteiro. Chap. III., pp. 30, 31, 39; Chap. IV., pp. 42, 55; Chap. V., pp. 67, 68; Chap. VI., p. 81; Chap. VII., p. 101; Chap. VIII., pp. 103, 112, 113, 115; Chap. IX., pp. 125, 126, 127, 131, 133; Chap. XI., pp. 143, 152; Chap. XII., pp. 158, 159; Chap. XIII., pp. 176, 176, 177, 180.

SA JOAO DE. Clerk in the S. Raphael the author's ship. He might have been the author. Vasco entrusted the S. Gabriel to him, when he himself left Sao Thiago in a caravel for Terceira. Chap. XII., pp. 163, 168; Chap. XVI., p. 206.

SAMBRAS, BOYA DA. Sao Braz, Bay, (Mossel Bay). Chap. V., p. 70; Chap. VI., pp. 82, 83, 87; Chap. VII., p. 2; Chap. VIII., p. 6; Chap. XV., p. 6.

SAMURI. See Zamorin.

SANTA MARIA. Island (Cape Verde). Chap. III., p. 35.

SANTIAGO. S. Thiago. Sao Thiago. Cape Verde Isles. Chap. III., p. 35; Chap. IV., pp. 41, 42, 43, 44, 49; Chap. XVI., p. 206.

SAO THIAGO. River of, St. Helena Bay. Chap. IV., p. 53.

SANTOS. (Ethiopia Oriental 1, 2, e. 20) João dos Santos, identified Rio dos Bons Signaes with the Kiliman River. Chap. IX., p. 128. He was a Dominican friar.

SCRAPERS. An implement commonly made of bone or horn used by the Bushmen for piercing skins and making ostrich egg-shell beads. Chap. V., p. 72.

SCURVY. Chap. VIII., pp. 114, 115.

SENEGAL RIVER. Called the Western Nile. Discovered by Lancarote and his fleet of six caravels in 1445. Chap. III., p. 32.

SEXTANT. A sextant is an instrument which, by means of a system of mirrors and a divided arc, is used to determine the altitude of a heavenly body; that is, the angular height above the horizon. A sextant has two mirrors, one of which is fixed to a movable index. The principal of the sextant depends on a theorem in optics, that if an object be seen by repeated reflection from two mirrors, which are perpendicular to the same plane the angular distance of the object from its image is double the inclination of the mirrors. To find the angle between two stars (or the altitude of the sun above the earth's horizon) the instrument is held up so that one star is seen directly through the Telescope and the unsilvered portion of the mirror. The index arm is then moved so that the image of the other star is coincident with the first. The reading on the arc at the point to which the arm is moved gives the angle required. Thus the sextant fixes the observer's position. A theodolite is thought still more reliable, being fixed on a tripod instead of held in the hand.

SERNIGI. Girolamo Sernigi was born in Florence in 1453. His letters give an account of the voyage of Vasco da Gama, he wrote others dealing with the trade between Portugal and India. Chap. VIII., p. 111; Chap. XII., pp. 155, 169, 170.

SHAWN, SHALM. An old wind instrument similar in form to the clarionet. Chap. XIII., p. 175.

SOFALA. Coffala, gold mines, in 1520 is visited by Vasco da Gama; 1505 is occupied by the Portuguese. After 1509 becomes the chief trading station on the coast. Chap. VIII., p. 111; Chap. IX., p. 125.

SOUSA, FARIA Y. Asia Portuguesa, a late writer in Spanish, 3 volumes 1674. Vols. 1 and 2 are little more than compilations from Barros and Couto. He was an industrious but somewhat uncritical compiler, who borrowed impartially from all his predecessors, and added details invented by himself. He had a remarkable gift of Epigram. Chap. IX., pp. 127, 130, 132.

SPARRMAN. Chap. V., p. 68; Chap. VI., p. 86. The Botanist.

SPRINGARDS. Chap. IX., p. 124; Chap. XIII., p. 175.

STRABO. Geography of. Chap. VI., pp. 75, 76.

STRANDLOPERS. Chap. V., p. 71; Chap. VI., p. 83.

TAMUGATE? Tamugata, Tangata, Mtangata. There still is a roadstead or bay called Mtangata, which the long roll of the Indian Ocean renders a place of trembling to the coast trader. Chap. XV., p. 201; Chap. IX., p. 133.

TERCEIRA. This is considered the principal island of the Azores. There are two towns and several villages on the island. The chief town is Angra, *on the south coast*. The town of Praya, on the bay of the same name, is on the east coast. TERCEIRA is about $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles in extent, from east to west, and 9 miles broad from north to south; its form is that of an ellipse. The island is very fertile, and produces abundance of *Corn*, *Wine*, and fruits (chiefly *oranges* and *lemons*); the pasturage for cattle is also good, and wood and water can be obtained in plenty. Along its shores fish are plentiful and of good quality. The coasts of the island are in general high and steep, so that the interior is accessible at only a few places, and these are frequently defended by batteries and fortifications. The western side of the island is higher than the eastern, and the Caldeira de Sta. Barbara may be frequently recognised by a great break on its eastern side, which is seen from seaward at a short distance or from the N.E. Chap. XVI., p. 206.

THEAL, DR. Chap. VIII., p. 108.

TOUCA. A. Cap. Chap. VIII., pp. 113, 114; Chap. IX., p. 123.

TRIGO TREMEZ (corn that comes up and ripens in 3 months).

This, according to a note furnished by Sir John Kirk, would be sorghum (the "matama" of the Swahili) which is sent in shiploads to Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Chap. X., p. 137.

TRISTAN D'ACUNHA ISLANDS. Chap. IV., p. 50.

TROMBAS (a kind of Trumpet). Chap. IV., p. 50.

TURTLEDOVE. Namaqua duifje, Naboa. Chap. V., p. 67.

TURTLES. Chap. III., p. 35.

VARTHEMA. Ludovico di Varthema, the travels of L. d. Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta, Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia A.D. 1503-1508. Chap. XII., p. 174; Chap. XIII., pp. 175, 176.

VEADORA. Vasco da Gama's overseer. Chap. XII., p. 164; Chap. XIII., p. 177.

VELHO ALVARO. One of the thirteen who attended Vasco da Gama to Calcut. Chap. XII., p. 164.

VELESO FERNAO. Receives permission to accompany the Hottentots to their kraal. Chap. V., p. 58. His hasty retreat, p. 59. Veloso's stories, Chap. V., pp. 60, 62; Chap. XII., p. 181.

VERBURGH, FRED. Chap. V., p. 65.

VERDES, CAPE. Chap. IV., pp. 42, 44; Chap. XVI., p. 206.

VOLTAS. Angra das, Dias called it Cape of the Turns or Tacks. It is called Cape Voltas and forms the south point of Orange River. Chap. IV., p. 52.

WAMPUM. Cauris. A prehistoric ornament. Porcelain shell (a little shell fish used as money in India and Africa). Chap. V., p. 68.

WOLVES SEA. Lobo Marinho, a sea-wolf, a term vaguely applied to all species of seals, as also to the sea-elephant, has been translated as seal. Chap. III., p. 33; Chap. IV., p. 50; Chap. V., p. 69.

XALIFE. Chap. XI., p. 147.

XARIFE. Xerife (an Arab term) sheriff or xeriff, the title of a prince or chief ruler in Barbary. This title is also applied to the descendants of Mahomed. Chap. XI., p. 144.

XAVIER. The apostle of the Indies. Chap. XII., p. 173; Chap. XIII., p. 182.

YATAGHAN (Turkish) a dagger-like sabre about 2 feet long, worn in Mohammedan countries. Chap. I., p. 13.

ZACUTO. Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto was professor of Astronomy and Mathematics in the University of Salamanca when King John II. called him to Portugal in 1492 and appointed him astronomer Royal. He is the author of *Ephemerides*. He invented astrolabes of brass and iron, which da Gama carried. It is stated that Vasco enjoyed the advantage of being trained as a practical observer by Zacuto. Chap. I., p. 14; Chap. VI., pp. 76, 77; Chap. VII., p. 95.

ZAMBUCCO. See Barca. Chap. X., p. 140.

ZAMORIN. Samuri, Camory, Title of Ruler of Calicut. Title explained, Chap. XII., p. 161. An ambassador and letter from a powerful ruler, Chap. XII., p. 164. Vasco's reply, Chap. XIII., p. 184. Merchant sent by, Chap. XIV., p. 187. A letter from King to King, Chap. XIV., p. 191.

ZANGHIBARE, Zamgiber. Chap. XV., p. 201.

ZAVRA or **ZABRA.** A dhow, which is a small open vessel, sharp at the stern with a square sail of matting. Chap. X., p. 135; Chap. XI., pp. 141, 146; Chap. XIV., p. 192.

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